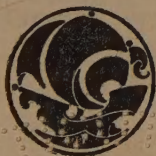


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YOUTH *IN* CONFLICT

MIRIAM VAN WATERS, PH. D.

Referee in Juvenile Court,
Los Angeles, California



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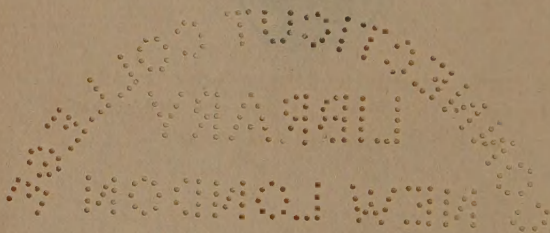
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Inscribed to

ORFA JEAN SHONTZ, REFEREE OF THE JUVENILE COURT, LOS ANGELES COUNTY, 1915 TO 1920, A PIONEER IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIZED JUVENILE COURT PROCEDURE: AND TO MARTHA P. FALCONER, BELOVED BUILDER OF THE NEW IDEA OF CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION FOR WAYWARD YOUTH.

The writer wishes to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Ruth Baker for the preparation of the manuscript for the press.

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FOREWORD

By ETHEL S. DUMMER

THE statement made at the Prison Conference at Boston in 1923, that seventy-five per cent of the prisoners in Sing Sing were under twenty-one years of age, shows crime to be a problem of youth and it is fitting that this study of Youth in Conflict find place in this series of Criminal Science Monographs which seeks understanding of asocial behavior.

In "The Unadjusted Girl," monograph No. 4, Mr. Thomas says:

"When we have sufficiently determined causal relations we shall probably find that there is no individual energy, no unrest, no type of wish, which cannot be sublimated and made socially useful. From this standpoint the problem is not the right of society to protect itself from the disorderly and anti-social person, but the right of the disorderly and anti-social person to be made orderly and socially valuable."

A leader among those who to-day are conducting maladjusted youth through the turmoil of conflict to lives of usefulness, reconstructing the failures of home, school, church and community, Dr. Miriam Van Waters, in this keen analysis, classification and interpretation of cases and situations further clarifies the problem and calls upon adults to consider their share in the causation of delinquency.

The struggle against child labor, the efforts to

combat commercial recreation, the organization of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Big Brother and Big Sister associations, show a growing sense of responsibility in our communities. In progressive schools the old custom of "ordering and forbidding" is giving way to methods which foster initiative and develop power to do and to think; and wise teachers are introducing social motive in education from the kindergarten on through high school. What may be said for the home?

Scientific synthesis of psychology, psychiatry, medical opinion and social service, speaking through court clinics and nursery school and bureaus of child guidance, now places the burden where it fundamentally belongs,—upon the home, upon the parents.

Since Dr. William Healy first showed the relation between "Mental Conflict and Misconduct," further research has made rapid advance. Jealousy, hypocrisy, antagonism between parents may cause in their children mental retardation, physical disease or delinquency. Should mental conflict or emotional shock occur from outside cause, a home atmosphere of freedom and trust is apt to dispel it. Frank revealing of such emotional experience helps to restore the child physically, mentally, morally. Delinquency is a more simple healthy reaction to emotional stress than is mental regression. However, recent adjustments in cases showing symptoms of dementia præcox, offer great encouragement for cures of mental disease also.¹

¹ Dr. E. J. Kempf in his "Psychopathology" (page 192) says: "In most institutions the diagnosis 'manic depressive' tacitly means recoverable and 'dementia præcox' means incurable, no matter what is done for the case. Hence, when a case diagnosed

The development of the child depends not so much upon the quantity and quality of food as upon the digestion of that taken. "Better a dinner of herbs where love is than a stalled ox and hatred therewith." A study of Malnutrition and Health Education made by David Mitchell and Harriet Forbes for the Bureau of Educational Experiments of New York City, shows that to secure proper nourishment, food must be taken "under proper conditions, with *desirable emotional attitudes*." The report says:

"The desire to conceal quarrels and antagonisms has been pretty thoroughly drilled into all of us, especially when these antagonisms are between members of one family. It has been left to the insight of the social investigator to determine how far there was sympathetic coöperation among the members of the family group. In many cases there was coöperation, but it was not necessarily the type which involves an understanding of the child by the parents or of the parents by the child. The parents were usually willing to furnish food of the right kind and at the right time. They were also willing to make rearrangements in the living conditions and to take what steps were necessary to improve the child's physical condition. They were, however, not quite so alert to the importance of maintaining a happy and tranquil disposition. Continual fault-finding or criticism may arouse in the child an antagonism which would militate against a desirable

'catatonic dementia præcox' recovers, the inclination is to reconsider it as a stuporous manic depressive. The analytic study of large, varied groups of cases shows that nothing could be more fallacious or misleading. Remarkable constructive healthful readjustments can be made if the autonomic-affective conflict can be corrected and readjusted."

A girl of sixteen who had regressed to behavior of the second year is now doing well at school and in the new home found for her.

progress. While it is impossible to present statistical information of the effect of this attitude, it seems certain that in a number of our cases, such an attitude prevented the effects of the nutrition class instruction being as marked as they might otherwise have been."

Dr. Esther Richards, in studying problem children in a public school in a congested district of Baltimore, found that when undesirable home situations were solved the child's work at school improved, the retardation in certain cases being due not to feeble-mindedness, but to maladjustment.¹

The work of Mrs. Helen Thompson Woolley, Director of the Merrill-Palmer School of Detroit, is a notable contribution to child psychology, having demonstrated that when an emotional conflict is resolved, the intelligence quotient may run up thirty or forty points in three months.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene has published a series of leaflets for parents, printing them also in Yiddish and Italian, and promising other translations should the need arise. These were prepared by the Division of Mental Hygiene of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases, number five being the work of Dr. Douglass A. Thom, Director of the Habit Clinic for Children in Boston. They are so simply phrased as to be within the comprehension of all, yet the best of parents can find in them new understanding of difficult situations. The topics are as follows:

¹ In the files of the *Journal of Mental Hygiene* are the following papers by Dr. Esther L. Richards of Baltimore: "The Elementary School and the Individual Child," Oct., 1921; "The Rôle of Situation in Psychopathology," "The Significance and Management of Hypochondriacal Trends in Children," Jan., 1923.

1. Does Your Child Fuss About His Food?
2. Being a Parent Is the Biggest Job on Earth.
3. Do You Make the Most of Your Child's Intelligence?
4. Is Your Child Jealous?
5. Does Your Child Have Temper Tantrums?
6. Obedience. Do You Wish Your Child Would Mind Every Time You Speak? Have You Ever Stopped to Think Why He Did Not?
7. Enuresis.
8. Convulsions.
9. Some Conditions in Children That Would Suggest the Use of a Habit Clinic.

Training having been offered for every profession except the almost universal one of parenthood, there is now beginning to develop scientific basis of technique for such education.

Dr. William A. White was asked if psychoanalysis were explaining that mystical relation by which illness in children seemed to be caused by anxiety of the mother, or antagonism between parents. He answered:

"With regard to the anxiety of the mother being reflected in the children, I think that one does not have to reach out for mystical explanations. One has only to realize that we gather a tremendous number of impressions, a vast amount of information from our environment in ways that we are not clearly conscious of. It is not infrequent to find a child who fails in its lessons at school has come from a family situation which was loaded with antagonistic emotions. The child senses these things even when their expression is very subtle. My illustration is that the child picks up the emotional flavor of the environment as effectively as a glass of milk in the ice-chest acquires the flavor of the onions that might be lying nearby."

Here we find the crux of the situation,—“the emotional flavor of the environment.” Child behavior is the result of “adult enforced conditioned emotions.” “Fear, hate, rage, love, act upon the bodily structures as do strychnine, mercury, heat, light or other agents.” Scientific research shows that not only temper tantrums and disobedience, but enuresis and convulsions are psychogenic and preventable. In order to induce desirable response in children, parents must control their own emotions. An understanding of this new science does aid in the attainment of conscious control.

Recent theory of emotional development comes to us in hypotheses, varying somewhat in expression, but including generally four periods: the early years of affection for the mother; the Narcissus phase of love of self; the friendship for one of like sex; and at maturity the love for one of the opposite sex. Any one of these periods may become fixed, carrying over into adult life, rendering the individual emotionally immature. Fortunate is the person who having lived through each period and left it behind, comes to full emotional maturity ready for a marriage of comradeship and social responsibility.

Through long epochs of wife-capture and wife-purchase, there was established the family relationship of woman and children as possessions of the man. Only within three years did it become illegal in China for a father to sell his daughter into prostitution; and the laws of France do not yet recognize a mother's right to voice opinion concerning the upbringing of her child, except such child be born out of wedlock. It is a far cry from the uproar caused in the Reichstag upon the introduction of

the first bill giving to government any control of parental standards of child care, to our modern socialized juvenile court through which instructions are given to parents, bringing homes up to higher levels.

Fear, anger, jealousy are emotions associated with danger to self or of loss of possessions. They will diminish as love becomes desire to contribute to the welfare of another. May we not with the aid of art and science attain new understanding of family relationships, pointing to youth a goal which shall challenge his sense of adventure and utmost skill,—a goal of love which shall transform the sense of possession into genuine unity of collaboration. Years ago the poet wrote: "Love,—glorious though it be, is a disease so long as it destroys, or even impairs the freedom of the soul." Now the scientist, Dr. E. J. Kempf, in his very illuminating study of Charles Darwin, illustrates this very point. He says:

"Darwin's father was actually a very sincere, kindly, sympathetic man, as his large practice and the affection of his patients showed, and it was not in injustice and severity that he was dominating; that attitude usually justifies an open revolt on the part of the son if the mother does not interfere, but it was in his conscientiousness and sincerity of wishing that he almost ruined his son. This is the type of affective bond that holds the object in the severest grip when it actually needs to break away."

Dr. Otto Rank says: "The detachment of the growing individual from the authority of the parents is one of the most necessary, but most painful achievements in evolution."

Society has cried out against physical incest, without differentiating between primitive and regressive types nor seeing possibility of cure, but we have been slow to recognize the wrecks of invalidism due to the psychic absorption of sons and daughters by adoring parents, though to such possessive affection may be traced many an unsuccessful mating.

The problem is not a simple one. Further insight may be gained by study of the Œdipus theory. A wise grandfather commenting on this hypothesis when his attention was called to the jealousy of a boy of three towards his father, observed: "That is not in nature. It is because the father does not show sufficient intelligent interest in his son." It may be that as humanity was late in discovering physical paternity, psychic paternity is not yet fully evolved. Even with the knowledge of the menace of fear and jealousy, it will be long ere we free ourselves from these hampering clutches of the past, but conscious reëducation of emotion is possible both for adults and children. This indicates in courts of Domestic Relations, development of procedure based upon psychiatry.

Utilizing Dr. S. E. Jelliffe's suggestion of the Œdipus theory as a unit of measurement for psychic situations, Mrs. Samuel Dauchy, in a paper on "The Psychopathology of Every Day Life," read before the Philosophy Study Class of the Chicago Woman's Club, formulated the following catechism:

"How long did my father remain a perfect being, a model by which I judged all boys and men? Did my devotion to him prevent my transferring my affection to others and limit my friendship with other men? Was I free emotionally to fall in love with any at-

tractive man or was I limited in my choice of a mate to some man who resembled him? Then, did my mother keep me dependent on her, caring for me as if I were still a baby, or did she put responsibility on me and teach me to face life with courage? If I was not freed, did I transfer my dependence to some one else after her death? Still more important, do I let my husband dominate me, showing him the submission of a child to a father; do I treat him as a child and pamper him and mother him; or do we go through life as comrades, sharing joys and sorrows and solving problems together? Most important of all,—am I freeing my son and making him strong to meet the changing periods of life—each with its own difficulties? Am I letting my daughter live in reality with happy duties and interests or am I forcing her to get her satisfactions out of day-dreams? Are we living the best life ourselves, creating the finest atmosphere and influence a home can afford? Are the children having the right companionship for their ages and constructive outlets for the abundant energy of childhood? Are we giving them fine experiences to fill their unconscious minds with the beauties of nature and art? Are we freeing them to choose wisely their own mates in the future, and are we preparing ourselves to welcome daughter-in-law and son-in-law without jealousy?"

As Charles Darwin's science turned the world from the supposed perfection of the past to seeking it in the future, so his example as father well illustrates the orderly revolution of evolution which parents may follow in changing from traditional respect for age and ancestry to reverent interest in the coming generation. Dr. Kempf writes:

"Darwin's attitude toward his children as an educative influence was radically different from his father's controlling methods in that he permitted his children to develop as freely as possible, thereby permitting the

affective forces to exercise their fullest powers. He treated his children with 'unbounded patience' and 'never spoke an angry word to them in his life,' but it 'never' entered into their heads to disobey him. This was not their fault but due to the fact that he always 'respected' their 'liberty' and 'personality.' "

The words in quotation marks are interesting indications of what the psychiatrist considers important factors in successful fatherhood. One more paragraph from this fascinating psychiatric biography:

"Darwin as a father and creative thinker was a most unusual exception to the rule in that he proved to be a successful father; whereas most intensive thinkers make poor fathers. The career deprives the child of much needed attention. . . . Four of his five sons became prominent in the scientific world. The honor for this, however, probably is due to Emma Wedgwood, Mrs. Darwin, whose wonderful personality made it possible for Darwin himself to become the creator of his work."

Here we find in the relation of the parents that which is basic for enduring home life, not only the psychic harmony which creates an atmosphere of serenity and freedom necessary to the health and growth of children, but such unity of collaboration in the wider fields of art, science, and world affairs, that childish egoism is lost in the genuine adventures through which youth finds right relation to nature and to humanity,—the self functioning as part of a great Whole.

To the definitions of home given by the author in Chapter Two, we would add the following: The essential home of the child lies in the attitude of the parents toward each other.

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INTRODUCTION

YOUTH IN CONFLICT

THIS book presents the case of youth in conflict with authority. Its point of view is that of the social worker. The social worker is not concerned primarily with reform, or with betterment of human beings. That is a confused and belittling definition of social work which has done much to bring about smugness in social workers and suspicion in the public generally. The human race could not bear the burden of an entire group, who unauthorized by divine sanction, conceived it their sole task to mold human lives into models designed by reformers. Social work is the task of those who aid mankind in the art of living together. Social work is neither a science seeking merely to know, nor a business seeking to profit. Social work is an art, a flowing and dynamic art. It uses tools of science and business to bring about adjustments which are necessary between the individual and his human world for successful living together. Its method of work is development of personality. Its goal is the fostering of adequate social relationships.¹ This book presents certain situations of conflict between young people and established social standards.

Its aim is neither to present scientific data, nor another collection of Juvenile Court stories. The

¹ The views of social work here presented are further developed in Mary Richmond's "What is Social Case-Work."

writer, in common, it is imagined with others has passed through varying degrees of emphasis as to the relative importance of statistics in social work. There comes a time when the laboratory, class room and clinic view of life is supreme. This is the stage of thirst for generalizations and statistics. It is not *this* girl with reddened thin hands and the baby in her arms who counts, but it is the "unmarried mother problem." This is the golden age of terminology, classifications and efficiency. This is the happy age of the social worker. Human affairs lose their details and perplexity. Little things are lost in tendencies and causes. Entities appear like landmarks in the sea of human faces,—and they are named: "poverty, delinquency, crime, disease, insanity and failure." As human beings are dealt with, they too tend to become merged and to lose their human pettiness; they become problems or cases, they seem to wear one or more labels,—"normal," "psychopathic," "defective," "delinquent," "insane," "dependent," "criminalistic," and so on with increasing variety.

It is not only easier to deal with human beings when they are labeled, but there is a scientific justification which none can gainsay. The method of diagnosis and classification represents vast improvement over the old system of dealing with conditions rather than persons or of dividing people into masses, say "worthy and unworthy," "deserving and undeserving poor." So too the scientific label is an improvement on the attitude which regards each instance of human distress as an accident, or more or less causeless lapse from normality. Scientific research made certain large groupings essential. This was to follow the path of all sciences and arts, first

the concrete, the isolated, then general terms, general laws.

But in this process there is for social workers a subtle danger which may destroy ability to aid human progress. This is lack of imagination.

No artist in his formulation of laws of beauty, loses his thrill of delight in the concrete beautiful object. His study of beauty in abstract, his theoretical knowledge only makes him more aware of the exquisite loveliness of the body of the thing before him. When, for example, he sees the slim carving of a prehistoric cat-god, the artist does not say: "This object fulfills certain requirements of slinness, dull greenness and economy of design in just the right mixtures to be beautiful." Rather in these spare and delicate masses the artist realizes that beauty has been created, not only in the world, but in him. He can tell by his quickened heart beat that it is valuable. The intensity of his feeling for the concrete loveliness of the little cat-god will depend on the stage of development of his own personality and artistic knowledge.

Something of the same sort must take place with social workers in the face of their human material. But it is the tragedy of social work,—that art of fostering human relationships,—that the ones who know the most have furthest removed themselves from the minds and bodies of their clients.¹ Too often contact is made by means of immature workers, or those who have lost, or who never had, a sense of the value, loveliness, interest, and whimsicalities of human beings. Social work runs the

¹ Client is the term used by social workers to name the human being who is dealt with. It does away with older terms: applicant, inmate, pauper, dependent, etc.

danger of yielding no harvest, or becoming a mere business of gathering data, making records, giving advice and lamenting human defects, unless it recognizes itself frankly as an art, and its workers as artists dealing with individual human lives. Medicine did this and developed into psychiatry,—that marvelous art of channeling a path from the individual to the world outside. Had it not become an art, medicine would have been the most dismal of the business-professions.

It is the value of the concrete case in social work that it makes vivid the processes at work in the social world. It is the value of training and academic discipline that they furnish a clew and show what it is in these cases that is significant and pertinent to mankind.

Hence this little book dealing with that form of maladjustment called juvenile delinquency is not seeking to add cases for class room analysis.¹ It attempts to make vivid the experiences of young human beings who fail to conform to our demands, who pass endlessly through our courts, homes, schools, hospitals, jails and prisons, and who feature in our records as "delinquent," "insane," "incorrigible," "diseased," "neglected," etc. Are there not processes of producing these young people everywhere around us? Is there in fact a single social group which is not producing maladjustment in some of its members? Particularly should we ask this question of family and school. How shall we know that youth is maladjusted? What shall

¹ To do this would be unnecessary at this time after Dr. Wm. Healy's Case Studies published by the Judge Baker Foundation, 40 Court Street, Boston, Mass., which furnish the best material yet offered to the student of case-work.

we call them? How shall we treat them? What should they be taught? What shall become of them, or of us? These questions, vital to our knowledge, our peace, vital indeed to our very existence as modern civilized groups, must be answered before society or social workers can feel security.

This book is not an attempt at solution. It is a description of forces in conflict, youth versus age, the moving versus the static. If it can but arouse insight, quicken creative imagination in social workers, parents, teachers, all those who yearn to assist youth in his age-long conflict, the writer will be content and the solution will be but around the corner.

PART I

THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY

CHAPTER I

A DAY IN THE JUVENILE COURT

THE Juvenile Court is not a tribunal for trial of children who have committed offenses. It is a court of chancery where the state assumes duties which parents are unable or unwilling to fulfill. It starts out on the theory that the child of proper age to be under jurisdiction of the juvenile court is encircled by the arm of the state, which, as a sheltering, wise parent, assumes guardianship and has power to shield the child from the rigors of common law and from neglect or depravity of adults. The usual treatment given by adults to other adults who break the law, the usual attitude of fear, suspicion and hostility which is felt toward lawbreakers have been crystallized in our criminal codes. Criminal law is assumed to be just, impersonal and avenging; it is thought to be a tribute to justice that her eyes are represented as bandaged, that she may not see what is in her scales. Each human being is to be treated alike. The court is not permitted to question the result, or to concern itself with the welfare of the offender, or to inquire if weight of punishment is too heavy for the individual to bear without mental or physical injury to himself, and moral loss or damage to the community. Criminal law cannot ask if the sentence inflicted will make the criminal or any group of human beings better or happier. It is as rigid in its rules of procedure as a game of chess.

To the student of human life it is astounding that society would have created so inflexible an instrument to deal with its baffling problems of erring flesh and spirit. The accused is first given benefit of assumption of innocence, but should he actually be guilty this assumption has created a handicap for him and deepens the morass into which he falls. As the structure of evidence is built up, he is entitled to defend himself with certain kinds of facts; facts far removed from his inner life, which do not offer real defense or explain him in human terms so that other human beings understand him.¹ How the accused lived as a child, with what harshness or tenderness he was reared, what handicaps of mind and body, what fears, loves and impulses were his, to what mainspring does his being respond, what kind of treatment would develop his social nature and make him acceptable to society; these questions which spring readily to minds of parents, teachers and social workers do not easily occur to minds of lawyers and judges because legal procedure dulls interests in human problems.

Doubtless the criminal code is an instrument of which mankind has reason to be proud, its intricate development, antiquity, its opportunity to give outlet to feats of skill and ingenuity in lawyers commend it to human approval, but it is still trial by combat; a struggle between prosecution and defense. It is assumed that the rights of each are in conflict; if the prosecution wins, the defense loses. Biologically and socially this can never be true of human rights. When the long view is taken, rights of the offender and those whom he has injured are not in

¹ For illustration, see the plea of Mr. Zero, the murderer in ■ recent play, "The Adding Machine," by Elmer L. Rice.

conflict. They are one. Properly to treat the offender is to give the only possible permanent security to the group.

The Juvenile Court was born of this belief. It takes for granted there is no conflict of interest between welfare of the child and that of the state; on the contrary, the very life of the state will depend on the wisdom and skill which it applies in protection of its young. The Juvenile Court deals with the delinquent as nearly as possible in the spirit of a wise parent toward an erring child. In cases which follow we see typical problems of the large city court. In the modern court procedure is as simple as possible. The child is not put on the defensive. He comes before the court on a *petition* filed in his *behalf*, instead of a *complaint* filed *against* him.

Picture to yourself a room with no forbidding legal air, a room with table and chairs and an air of simplicity, dignity and quiet. Here the grim majesty of the law court, as well as its sordidness, is thrown overboard. Nothing which terrifies the child is permitted. Something of the clinic, something of the confessional is present, but its spirit differs from either, for the court has not only power to inquire, to recommend and to reconstruct, but like a super-parent, it can obtain obedience of child and community. The instrument it uses is knowledge, rather than force.

Case I

Five Russian boys come before court. The petition alleges truancy, that they wandered the streets and broke into a warehouse, stealing and damaging

property to the value of one thousand dollars. The oldest is Alec. He is eleven years old. He is quiet and dull, with a great head, thin neck, protruding blue eyes, pale face and listless hands. Physical examination shows him to be twenty pounds underweight. Tonsils are diseased, he has adenoids, weak eyes, irregular heart-beat and congenital syphilis. Nevertheless he has managed to fulfill requirements of school and is not below grade. His intelligence as revealed by customary psychological tests is average normal.¹ His mother is dead and his old grandmother keeps house, an affair of four rooms near the railroad tracks, immaculately clean, incredibly airless, while his father, a Russian giant with yellow beard and immense shoulders, works in an iron foundry.

"Why don't you keep your boy in at night?" asks the court.

The big father looks tenderly at the boy:

"Oh! Alec! I thrash him well, but he goes out with bad boys; they take him out."

The grandmother at this remark buries her face in her hands and weeps silently, without hope. She is tall and broad with the flat, capable back of the peasant woman. Her white apron is bordered with hand-made lace, whereon a great bird with outspread tail walks among the lilies of the garden of the Mother-of-God. The grandmother's head is covered with a white linen cloth. She does not speak; the anguish of her posture shows that she

¹ In the Juvenile Courts, of which these cases are typical, the children have been studied carefully by a competent physician who has made complete laboratory tests, a clinical psychologist who has made the customary mental examinations, in many instances observing the child over a period of years, and a probation officer who has furnished the social history.

considers this scene the final tragedy of her people.

The boy next to Alec is Fred. "Fred's" name was Dimitri. It is customary among children of foreign parents to receive American nick-names and to lose their own names which bear historic, or literary value. He is eight years old. He has roving, intelligent gray eyes, set in a wrinkled, aged face. The physician has declared him normal; his body is found bruised with marks from a beating. He is about eight pounds underweight. Fred is an habitual truant from school. He is of more than average intelligence. Both his parents work in factories. So do his older brothers and sisters. In his house the only thing Fred has the slightest right to is one-third of the mattress he shares with two brothers. There is not poverty at home, but sugar, milk and fruit are absent. Every night after work father and mother and eldest son go to church. As long as the children are in arms they too go to church.

"Why don't you keep Fred at home?" the court asks.

"Oh, Fred!" cries the father, gnashing his teeth angrily. "He is wicked. I beat him to death,—then they say—it is against the law. The teacher comes and says: 'Let Fred come to the playground.' I let him go—he never comes home."

"Fred, where do you sleep?"

"On the roof," replies Fred.

Fred, in company with gangs of boys, spends weeks away from home, sleeping on roofs of hotels.

"What do you wish us to do for Fred?" asks the court.

"I don't know," replies the father, his dark face showing bewilderment and anger.

Other members of Fred's family are equally perplexed. The mother, since she came to America fifteen years ago, has never laid off work more than six weeks at a time. She has borne nine children. She is strong and practical. Her only self-indulgence after fifteen years of factory work is this pink silk fringed shawl on her head. The older girls work in laundries. They are heavy muscled, industrious, chaste, slow of speech and movement, clumsily dressed in American clothes. So with the older sons, hard-working peasants, struggling with the iron of foundries, as their forefathers toiled with land.

Fred is the one rebellious spirit. His teacher asserts he learns nothing in school, yet his native intelligence is superior. There is in him something indomitable.

"Why did you break into the warehouse?"

"I was looking for junk to sell. Me and him," indicating the third offender, a plump, feeble-minded Russian boy of twelve.

"What did you take?"

"A teeny piece of copper wire."

"Is that all?"

"Yes."

"Where did you get it?"

"I pulled it out of a big machine."

"Didn't you know that would spoil the engine which cost two hundred and fifty dollars?"

No answer.

"Are you sorry?"

"Sure."

"What did you do with your wire?"

"I sold it to a junk man for thirty cents."

"Who is he?"

"There," pointing to the peddler in the rear of the room.¹

"What did you do with the money?"

"I drank two soda pops, bought one package of cigarettes and went to the show."

"Whom did you take with you?"

"Him," contemptuously indicating the weak-witted boy, who is servant and camp-follower of Fred.

"You say you took nothing else from the warehouse?"

"No."

"Why then was the place in such a mess? Did you smash the tiles?"

No answer.

"Did you throw paint on the floor?"

No answer.

"Did you ransack the desk?"

No answer.

"Oh! You did!" cries the feeble-minded one. "You were looking for the fountain pen, and you wrote a letter to your sweetheart."

At this allusion to his private affairs Fred becomes still. His eyes flash hostility. He is eight years old, alert, defiant, he has already built his defense against encroachments of the adult world. Eager to possess all that adults know, his eyes and ears are strained for chance colors, perceptions, sounds. He is the most alive spirit in the court room. The detention home superintendent reports that he has read tales of Twain, Stevenson and

¹ In many communities it is a violation of the penal code for a dealer in junk to buy from a minor. This peddler unquestionably contributed to the delinquency of the boys. For the sake of receiving his thirty cents they committed burglary and theft.

Swift. He is thirsty for mental nourishment. Answers and questions, ponderous attitudes of adults occupy him only an instant; it is with difficulty he restrains his impatience.

"Your Honor!" broke in the owner of the warehouse. "Permit me. This is the third time my place has been burglarized. These kids broke in so they could get some copper wire, they say, and they darn near spoiled everything. Besides damaging about eight hundred dollars' worth of machinery, they broke my tile-models, threw cement and color over everything; tried to drink some dyes, and when they couldn't, poured liquid over everything and smashed bottles just as if they was drunk or crazy.

"I don't want 'em shut up; they ain't none of them vicious, but I do want my things let alone!" He is obviously kindly, annoyed and perplexed.

The priest in the rear of the room gets up, the Russians listen with intensity. He speaks through the interpreter.

"My people will attend to these boys. We are deeply grateful to you for taking an interest in them, but we will now see to them. We now take them home."

"Can the parents pay?" asks the court.

"Obviously the parents cannot pay," replies the priest with dignity.

An Americanization welfare worker is asked for an opinion.

"The trouble with these boys is that all the mothers and fathers work; all they think of is work; money, work and going to church. They keep the children home from school to care for the younger ones. They say they learn wickedness at school. Only if they are fined will they see the

importance of obeying the school law. They will not permit the children to go to the playground, or to school entertainments where there is music and dancing. They think play is evil. The children are beaten for any trifling disobedience. They cannot understand their parents' religion, the church is so small that they cannot get in. Because of cruel punishments for slight faults the children really do not know right from wrong. They get no medical attention, and physically they are all below par."

Indeed nothing could present greater contrast than the ruddy, honest giants of fathers, and the pale, sickly, harassed little boys.

The court would like to solve this mystery.

"Which one of you is the best talker? Tell the simple truth without fear; why did you smash the tiles and throw the paint around? Was there fun in it?"

Apparently this was a new manner of adult attack. They were used to questions that parents and teachers asked to answer themselves, to questions that were put merely for the purpose of smashing you down; here was a question that disturbed the inner circle of your feelings about yourself. Alec perceived that the court was trying to put itself on an equality with him; he was touched and his face flushed, but obviously he lacked experience in words. His tongue struggled:

"I dunno. We was just monkeying around. We wasn't faking,¹ honest."

The problem was too much for Alec. He sank back pale and tired with this new emotion.

Suddenly the court saw the affair in a new light.

¹ "Faking" is the expression used by small Russian boys to express petit larceny.

This was no ordinary malicious mischief. There was in it a primitive outburst of energy, a volcanic jet of elemental forces long buried under crust of intolerable dullness, barrenness and meanness of their daily lives. They were not wanton young criminals, seeking to destroy. Rather, in this crude and unfortunate way there had been some fundamental dealing with primitive matter, with bricks and boards, flying colors and liquids and crashing sounds which, in spite of waste, had satisfied some savage spirit of creation.

Who indeed were these five children? Their forebears had lived in immense spaces on Russian steppes, without physical restraint. They had intimate contact with the soil, with frost, snow, sun, sweat. They handled reality direct. They wrestled stubbornly with land, for mere existence. They were used to listening to the voice of prophets, one of whom had called upon the very fathers and mothers of these boys to arise and follow him from war-threatened Russia to America where, in a holy vision, he had seen the exact spot where God wished them to settle.¹

They obeyed. They had squeezed their great bodies into crowded houses along the arid, treeless strip of land near the railway tracks which evidently had fulfilled the requirements of the vision. They found work and prospered exceedingly.

¹ Over 5,000 of the Russians in the Los Angeles Colony are Molecans, a religious sect originating in central Russia about 1805. Molecans consider it wrong to resent any injury. They also believe they are visited by spirits sent by God. Russia did not adopt universal military service until 1880. At the time of the Russo-Turk war several thousand settled in southwestern America. This immigration is typical.

Apart from beating their wives and children from tradition, they were the gentlest of men. Labor and prayer governed their lives. Had the prophet likewise foreseen their children, condemned to sicken in city smoke and bad air, to starve for want of the rich emotional and imaginative folk-life which was their spiritual heritage as children of immigrants, "Children of Loneliness"?¹ If so, of course, it could not have altered the vision, nor changed the course of action, for prophets must take the long view of everything.

The Russian priest again announces they are ready to take the children home. The court admonishes the boys, places them under detailed probationary supervision, which will involve systematic visits to the clinic, entrusts the book-thirsty Fred to a young librarian who agrees to act as big brother, although both are dubious. With piercing wails the feeble-minded boy is detained so that he can be safeguarded in a school-home. The court instructs the parents to pay a small weekly amount to the owner of the warehouse, not as a fine, but to teach them to watch their children better, and not on any account are they to beat the boys twice for the same offense, for as one parent remarked:

"I think of my child, Babin; my heart grows sad, and then I thrash him."

The court asks the school teachers to coöperate by giving these boys rich literature, (they are passionately fond of fairy tales) good art, vivid history and civics. For these young teachers, unmindful of the boys' really superior native abilities, had

¹ See Anna Yeziarska, "Children of Loneliness," Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1923.

grouped them with dull children.¹ The Americanization worker is asked to work a shade more tactfully with parents and priest; the owner of the warehouse is commiserated, but advised to have better locks and window screens. (He ended by putting twenty dollars into the Community Chest Fund.) The dealer in junk is placed in the hands of the District Attorney to be taught not to make profit out of the sins of little boys.

The hearing is over, but the "case," as a matter for Juvenile Court, has just begun. At frequent intervals for two years, perhaps more, the Court will see these boys, following their needs, modifying order of court as conditions change.

Case II

Clarence, aged twelve, lives in a good apartment-house neighborhood with his mother. Neither he nor his forebears on either side have been in court before. Clarence wears carefully pressed knee trousers, a white shirt and blue tie. He has a pale face with high forehead from which rather coarse blond hair is wet-combed straight back. Physically he is sound. The physician thinks his pallor may be accounted for by the fact that he never goes to bed before eleven o'clock, he eats too much sugar and starch and drinks coffee and tea at will. He is a straight, slim, well-knit American boy, one year retarded in school, and of good average intelligence.

His misdeeds are truancy, running away, sleeping

¹ Truancy was abated in one such family when the teacher gave Pilgrim's Progress to a boy for home reading. His parents sent all their children to school thereafter with the explanation, "We see now that God is not forgotten in your school."

out, theft of a bicycle, burglary of a country store in the company of Mexican boys who had a revolver. Twenty-four dollars worth of canned goods, cartridges, candy, gum, cigarettes, a bandanna handkerchief, a pair of gloves and leather belt were taken from the store which was entered at midnight by prying up a window.

The really serious part of the affair (the mother was willing to pay for stolen articles) was the predicament of the merchant in his present state of mind. When he heard noise, he dressed and entered the store, and was confronted with Clarence's revolver pressed to the pit of his stomach, and the cry: "Hands up!" He reached for a baseball bat and Clarence retreated. Now that it was over the merchant was in panic and was sure Clarence was the boldest murderer unhung.

There was nothing remarkable in Clarence's life. He was born on a farm in the Middle West. His father was a well-to-do raiser of corn. When he was four years old his parents were divorced. Two older girls went with the father, who shortly remarried and started another family. This one was not a success either. The father lost his money and was now selling real estate and paying alimony for support of his second wife and babies. Clarence had gone with his mother. She too had remarried, a man somewhat younger; they separated at the end of three years. Clarence's mother was a brisk woman in middle age. She owned houses to rent and a small confectionery store which she managed herself. Clarence and she lived in an apartment which was neatly furnished. Clarence's days and nights went somewhat in this fashion: he slept in a bed which, during the day, folded up behind the

door of the living room. He kept his clothes in his mother's closet and had a few belongings in a bureau drawer. He got up just in time for school which was six blocks away. His mother made him toast and coffee on the electric stove. Sometimes he went without his breakfast. At recess he took an ice cream soda. He was in the sixth grade. His teacher was an unmarried woman of forty. She had taught this grade for fifteen years. Her personality was patient, earnest, exacting. She believed in insistence upon detail. She never let herself go, or became angry, or enthusiastic. She lacked imagination. Clarence, because he had failed the year before, was not permitted to take any extras, such as wood-carving, nature study or civics. He pursued the basic studies: reading, endless drill in penmanship—which he had mastered as well as he could ever hope to do in the third grade,—arithmetic, spelling and geography. He was an average student, obedient, bored, tolerant, without curiosity. At recess he surreptitiously shot craps with the boys on the cement court. At noon he ate a well-cooked meal at the school cafeteria. This he detested, but the good health campaign at school made the cooking teacher inexorable: each child must eat a balanced ration. It was this meal which saved the day, physically, for Clarence. At home he was as poorly nourished as the most ignorant immigrant, although his father and grandfather had raised acres of grain and were hard-eating, husky American farmers, and his grandmother and mother were first class cooks.

On the way home Clarence generally bought an ice-cream cone or an all-day-sucker. He loitered on corners and passed knowing remarks with the "soda

jerk" in the drug store. He spent half hours gazing into store windows. It being the downtown district which his mother preferred, there was not a tree or a yard for a square mile. Finally Clarence reached home. He unlocked the stale apartment, and began to read the newspaper. First the comic strips, then the headlines—

GIRL AND LAWYER DRUNK AT A PARTY

PROBE DETAILS OF LOVE-MURDER

DARING DOWNTOWN ROBBERY BY MASKED
BANDITS

Clarence read every word of these "human interest" stories.

Sometimes his mother was home. Occasionally Clarence ran errands, but these never took him into the country. They ate dinners at a cafeteria, frescoed with Egyptian scenes; there was a jazz band. Clarence ate two or three desserts and the catsup of an oyster cocktail. Usually he went to a movie in the evening. The shows he passionately loved were red-blooded "he men" scenes of adventure; great lungs heaving in open air, swift motion over vast spaces, quick decisions carried out by well-trained, swelling muscles, expansive gestures, care-free manners,—sensations hot and vigorous. He would stretch his lean body forward with intolerable yearning, thrusting out his chest, breathing quickly. Why should he not thrill to these pictures of Western adventure? Had not his grandfather driven an ox-team through the Missouri trails? Had not his father turned virgin soil with his plow

and broken in his own horses? If the school meal saved the day physically for Clarence, the Western moving picture saved him spiritually. It was his only chance to stretch his muscles or to use his imagination, to satisfy his biological cravings. Yet the movie was his undoing also, for in it he got the idea of prying open the window to rob the store: in fact he followed the movie scenario as exactly as possible during his two weeks' delinquency, except stealing the bicycle from school,—that was his own idea,—and he was rather ashamed of it.

Now and then in the evening Clarence would stay home and listen to his mother entertain friends; men and women from back home. They talked of real estate, illness, cures, domestic unhappiness, alimony, taxes and movie-scandals.

Clarence's relation with his mother was matter-of-fact. He liked her, he knew she was good to him. He was conscious of no yearning for affection. She was strict about his manners, school and Sunday School attendance, and very careful of his clothes. Sometimes she punished him with a hair brush; once this was for breaking a hand-painted dish, and a few times when he could not recall any infraction. He held no resentment. His mother did not like him to have boys in the apartment. His companions were casual pick-ups.

Clarence in court could give no account of the reason for his running away and robbing. He was satisfied with home. He had everything he wanted. He met the Mexican boys at the show, and asked them how far it was to Mexico, and suddenly the plan dawned on him to go. They broke into the store to get provisions and an outfit for Clarence. They had camped out two weeks, until arrested. He

was willing now to go home, to take punishment and to be good.

As to attempting to shoot, Clarence maintained nothing was further from his thoughts. The gun, it turned out, was not loaded. But that was a mere error of sequence, for Clarence had intended to load it, if the merchant had not disturbed him. Clarence viewed this phase of the gun as a lapse from "criminalism" into heroism. His eyes took on a far-off look. They were not on the court, but on the imaginary silver-screen that he would rush off to the instant he was free.

Clarence's mother maintained he was a "weak" boy, easily led, like his father. But Clarence was not "weak." It took a profound effort to hold the gun at the pit of that man's stomach. The difficulty was not "weakness of will," but conflict in goals. He did not *wish* to kill, but he deeply *wished* to feel excitement and heroism.

To the court the case was clear as to cause, but tremendously difficult as to treatment.

For Clarence represents any number of American boys who run away to seek adventure, who start by committing petty offenses and end by living the parasitic life, auto-thieving, bootlegging, pimping, and robbery. Clarence is "normal" and his mother is "good," but his life is all wrong. He is encased in brick and stone, steeped in a bath of dull adult influence. There is nothing unusual about his cravings, he is the offspring of vigorous parents, he cannot find life in the downtown district or petty details of home and school. Within three generations of American life, the emphasis has changed from vigorous rearing of healthy children in enough space to grow and play,—this the first thought of the

family,—to the getting and spending of money and living with modern conveniences. This may suit needs of individual grown-ups. To the child it is slow starvation of body and spirit.

This case in tens of thousands is difficult because there is nothing legally wrong with the home. There is no chance of giving the mother different biological ideas. She feels justified in divorce, remarriage, her separation, her honest self-support, her few recreations. That Clarence should have masculine influence she admits, but how can she get along with men who are so selfishly impossible! She points out that the school employs woman teachers! Why should she give him up when the divorce court thought she was the parent most fit to raise the boy? This mother values modern conveniences and hardwood floors more than she values her son's growth in muscles and imagination.

The remedy for Clarence is reliance on the community. Boy scouts, summer camps, playground teams, big brothers, may help him, if the Probation Officer is active and skilled, and boy-leaders are patient with the boy with a court record.

Probably there will be small loss of social esteem in Clarence's case as the damage he inflicted on the social code was slight,—most men secretly or openly applaud running away to adventure,—seizing by force what is necessary to take along has been the way of the race. Women as a rule are not so tolerant of the runaway male, young or old. Women for many years will comprise Clarence's world.

All pervasive will be that atmosphere of the apartment, the downtown district, the adult, modern world without warmth, without affection for boys, without space or intensity, or thrill.

Case III

Clara is aged fourteen, a blonde girl with blue prominent eyes and delicate features. She has bobbed, curled hair, a poor physique, chest narrow, arms thin, posture drooping, a quick mechanical smile, and hands with long, sharply-pointed, polished nails, not quite clean. She is dressed in black taffeta with a tight sleeveless waist and a long full skirt. Her face is made up with orange rouge and thick white powder, her lips are painted red. Her eye lashes are beaded with mascara and under each eye is a line of blue-black which gives her a weary, dissipated appearance. She wears a short white curly fur coat and a little round hat with a veil. Her physical examination gives no organic disorder; she is underweight, has diseased tonsils, very bad teeth, and she has contracted a venereal disease.

This is Clara's first appearance in court. None of her family have ever been in court before. Her father and mother are average American citizens. They have a small, well-furnished suburban bungalow in which live four children, Clara being the oldest. Her daily life is simple. She shares her room with three younger children. In the small living room is a victrola with jazz records. Clara goes to Junior High School. She is about the average in her school work; mentally she is retarded about a year and a half. Her friends are boys and girls of school. Her parents do not attend church; every one sleeps late on Sunday. Clara helps with housework.

Her delinquencies are staggering. Until thirteen years of age she never spent a night away from home. Then she began "staying all night with her

girl friend," and using "make-up." About six months ago at a show she met a young man, a traveling vaudeville entertainer. He suggested that she come to his room to hear him play the saxophone. She went, ate chocolates, smoked cigarettes and made love. Later she went to his room every afternoon for a week. She did not know his last name. He was called Paul.

"Were you afraid you might have a child?"

"Oh, no!"

And Clara, with utter frankness and a smile, gave out what she considered authentic birth-control information.

"Were you afraid of disease?"

"Well, no. I did not suppose you got a disease until you were married. Besides I don't think I have it. Paul could not have given me anything because he was very strong: he had to be,—he was an entertainer, you know, on the ——— Circuit."

"Did you love him?"

"Well, I did, but I don't now. He sent me a special delivery letter too, from Frisco, but now I hear he was married, and has another girl besides."

"Then what did you do?"

"Well, before that I had always gotten home by five-thirty in time for dinner.

"Then one day I met a fellow on the street. He had a big car and said he would take me home. We went first to the beach and danced and had a wonderful dinner with chicken patties and an ice with our coffee. Coming home the car broke down or something, so before we knew it, it was one o'clock, so I couldn't go home, of course, then."

"What did you do?"

"Well, we just rode around all night."

"Did he try to take advantage of you?"

"Oh, no! He was a perfect gentleman."

"What was his name?"

"I don't know. He said his name was Mr. Smith, but that wasn't his real name."

"Would you have been abused if you had gone home at one o'clock?"

"Oh, no. Not struck you mean, or anything like that,—only they would have raised a fuss. In the morning I was too scared to go, so Mr. Smith got a room for me in town."

"Did he stay with you?"

"No, he left, and I never saw him again."

"And where did you spend that night?"

"Oh, in the same place."

"With whom?"

"Well, some boy friends and two girls. I 'phoned them up and they came."

Then followed her dismal story, promiscuous familiarity with these boys; next night a new hotel and another strange young man, and so on for two weeks, until at length a tardy police officer caught her spooning in the park.

"Did you take money from these men?"

This question brought out the only emotion Clara had displayed,—surprised indignation.

"How could you think that? Why, one fellow hadn't any money and I had to buy his breakfast. Of course the fellows paid for the room, because I hadn't any place to go."

"No place to go! How about your home?"

"Well, I never could get along at home. They pick on me and quarrel all the time about nothing."

Her parents did not show symptoms of quarrelsomeness; they were good-natured, helpless, bewildered and rather dazed middle-aged people.

"Are you sorry?"

"Gee, yes. I want to start all over. I want to go to work, either in the movies or as an usherette. I wish to make something of myself."

In this delicate girl there was no physical shrinking from the numerous rough contacts she had had; there was no feeling of injury to herself or parents. There had been no emotion in her experiences, no excitement; just aimless response to the chance situation. It was sheer imitation of cheap movie, and cheap street life she had seen.

Her parents lived in a different world. They were occupied with their own affairs; after physical wants of their children had been supplied they put them out of their minds. They took for granted that Clara had certain ideas about sex conduct, (the very word they would have blushed to utter,) and "morals" and "all that kind of thing." She never asked questions, and was obedient.

The appalling shock of their lives was Clara's disappearance and arrest. They had supposed her kidnapped; there had been anxiety and publicity.

The astonishing thing to them was Clara's range of information. As the quiet probe of the court went deeper into that scatter-brained little mind and heart, shreds of underworld phrases came up, slang words for tabooed objects and subjects, flippancy with processes of life and its creation. Situations that would make a woman physician grope for words, Clara took at a leap with a dialect composed of Elizabethan English and the coarsest of modern slang. She knew every dance hall, cabaret, skating rink in

town. Her favorite waiting places were drug store telephone booths and rest rooms of department stores.

Her manner was not bold,—rather it was clinging and wistful; she simply took for granted that nearly everybody her age “did these things,” went to these places, just as her parents simply took for granted that their dimly perceived, inarticulate family morals were being followed by their daughter.

They had permitted her afternoons of liberty. Every one did that nowadays.

“We have always trusted Clara.” They had protested faintly against rouge, but finally had given in “to avoid friction.” For Christmas, after weeks of pleading, the old father had bought the white fur coat for Clara, and was proud of it.

When the case was prepared, and a small number of the older boys and men identified and taken to criminal court, the aged judge, in an outburst of condemnation, called Clara “an abandoned woman” and dismissed the men.¹

But Clara is not a woman, abandoned or otherwise. She is fourteen years old, a frail American girl who comes before the courts in hundreds of girls’ cases each year,—aimless, drifting, unaware of waste or wreckage, wishing no evil, bearing no malice, their sole desire not to be “picked at” by grown-ups, not to encounter anything difficult, or critical. Such girls long for easy approval. They do not get this at home, but on the street well-dressed young men with cars smile at them pleasantly. A

¹ In such cases the parents, or the Juvenile Court, usually ask the District Attorney to file criminal charges, or if it is not an affair of rape, the Juvenile Court Judge hears the case on a charge of contributing to a minor’s delinquency. The young girl is held as a witness.

generation or two ago Clara would have been flirting, more or less innocently, at husking parties and church socials. The automobile, modern hotel and city have merely enlarged her opportunities.

Then there are two worlds: at home a dull routine, not even a trapeze in the back yard, parents absorbed, and when aroused to attention, critical; when one is a little girl one must be lady-like,—there is instantaneous suppression of the least outbreak in daily schedule. There are no heightened moments, no adventures. There is talk about morals and “being good,” but it is matter-of-fact, very dry. “Honestly, mother and father seem sort of bored with life.” Father secretly has no objection to a sly joke about those areas of living that are never talked about, mother doesn’t really mind stylish clothes, and even rouge she thinks “kind of pretty.” “She talks of course, but all the same—.”

Then the other world,—smiling, gay, changing, no disapprovals, motion and rhythm in dance-halls and swift cars; unheard of intimacy, strange stimulating food, vague awareness that though one may be “bad” the adults who “live this way” are contented and seemingly rewarded, at least in movies and magazines. More than all else there is a fascinating flood of knowledge about sex to be endlessly talked over, experiences, whispered confidences, boastings and combats between men and women and rivals. Nothing else is so interesting as this information; it began in childhood with a persistent intensity that took the breath, shocking things that later became commonplace, but amusing: in short a world of easy mastery.

What remedy shall the court apply? One should approach this case with reverent caution for it strikes deep at the life-stream of our present social situation.

The task in the home-life of this girl is limited to bread-winning. Its standards are narrow and shallow; this is the decaying remnant of the Puritan home. The parents no longer believe vigorously in anything or protest against anything. Clara must return to her parents. This home produced her and feeble as its hold is, it is the only soil where she can take root. The court will place her in a carefully managed hospital where the socially minded woman physician, nurses and social workers will heal her venereal infection and give her elements of sex hygiene. The court will seek to implant in her first seeds of that larger, impersonal, more just social disapproval which may in time grow into a genuine idea of clean living and its advantages,—but in the end Clara will go back to her home and that of her parents for reëducation. Endless patience, attention to those trivial matters which alone have power to win the interest of Clara may some day create the wish to live so that social esteem and worth-while experiences may go hand-in-hand. In thousands of American homes this is the task of some woman probation officer; her success will depend on her degree of enlightenment.

Case IV

A revealing thing in court procedure is the attitude, not so much what is said as set of facial muscles, posture, random movements that are mute evidence of life-habits,—bravado, antagonism, superiority, hate, shame, yearning, despair, satisfaction.

So with Evelyn. She was eighteen years old. A short girl with pretty, regular features, soft brown hair carefully done, white smooth skin, a delicately

rounded body. Dressed neatly, conservatively, everything about her person showed self-esteem. On her lips a peculiar smile played without mirth, embarrassment or fear, a smile expressing satisfaction. Her head was thrown well back, her posture erect, her whole being a subtle, mocking challenge. Her hands assumed attitudes, the fingers separated and held apart.

She had been attending business college, tuition paid by an aged, retired rancher living in another city, and she was boarding in a family home of refined surroundings. She had started a career of dishonesty which would open the doors of the penitentiary if the authorities agreed to consider her as an adult woman.

Although this was Evelyn's first appearance in court, the probation officer's investigation showed history of theft in boarding school and private families. Because of Evelyn's gentility and tears these charges had never been pressed. Within the past six weeks, from a fashionable home where she had visited, she had stolen furs and Persian rugs, so cleverly that only by chance had detectives traced theft to her. From department stores she had taken hundreds of dollars worth of silk underwear; finally she had forged checks to the value of five hundred dollars. Fortunately she had not spent this money. The furs, rugs and lingerie also were found, after insistence, questioning, denials and evasive admissions. Apparently Evelyn had not worn these things. She had obtained gratification in secreting valuable objects, in causing anxiety and fear of loss to those she considered socially superior to her, in mystifying detectives and others, finally in bringing pain to the motherly woman who had boarded her.

Evelyn's theft is no simple wish for desirable objects. She had no genuine pleasure in them. Untrained teachers and probation officers often make the mistake of supposing girls like Evelyn "yearn for pretty things." They imagine they see this girl in a happy environment, perhaps as a young wife, surrounded by luxury: it is "natural" that she should desire luxury. Evelyn has had a lesson, she will never do it again. They are deceived because they are sentimental and without insight. They are misled by Evelyn's tears, immaculate person, baby face. The truth is Evelyn will never be contented as a young wife, in possession of a beautiful home. Such possession would not satisfy her. She is cool and reserved. What is not obvious is her source of self-satisfaction. We cannot be sure of inner facts to which she responds, but clearly Evelyn loves life in a manner which fortunately is uncommon. Her first object of esteem is herself. Next, another girl about her own age. These young people have a "crush"; it is a persistent, though shallow, attachment. Evelyn loves secrecy and deception;—hiding some valuable thing or some fact increases her feeling of being an important superior person. With a trace more self-assertiveness Evelyn might have become a domineering woman of impeccable morals, cruel, sarcastic and critical. But Evelyn is timid. Underneath her suave manner is a haunting fear that she is really not superior, that after all she is inadequate. So the mocking smile, the elaborately postured hands.¹ Finally, Evelyn is incapable of generous emotion. She cannot admire anything nor let herself go. She could never know submission or loyalty, her relationships with human beings

¹ Kempf, "Psychopathology," p. 721.

must be all of one color,—either she must dominate, or inflict pain, loss or suffering in some obscure or direct way upon all she meets.

Her emotional life will be self-centered or flow toward those of her own sex. She will never wish to live the biologically normal life, hence Evelyn will not be a sex-delinquent, for this reason her rôle will not be so hard as it would be if she were properly understood. Probation officers will partly excuse her conduct, because she is, at least, "clean morally." Women will take this calculating girl into their homes, when they would never take the warm-hearted, slangy girl of the streets who might yield in love an adequate return for their human investment. Evelyn will go her way, pitied, wept over, excused, forgiven, "putting it over."

Let no one get the idea that Evelyn does this with deliberation. She acts in response to those human beings and situations as if she were conditioned to so respond; as if she could not act differently. There is something tragic in Evelyn.

Physically in perfect health, mentally a superior-normal, with a good education, no family ties (for Evelyn's parents died in her sixth year, leaving Evelyn a small estate) one could plan for her a productive life as teacher, business woman or social worker.

But Evelyn cannot embark on any such career. The police would be always at the door. There is small hope that Evelyn will stop stealing. She is emotionally arrested, or under-developed. As one learns to know her one has the curious feeling of being in the presence of something unfinished; a sly, cunning, evil fairy, something not quite human, not to be reached by ordinary speech or appeals, a

creature of different life-goals than ours, and unfitted to cope with our modern world.

What shall the court do for Evelyn? She must be placed in an institution so that her thefts will no longer trouble society. What kind of institution? To punish an infantile personality is not only cruel, but useless. Evelyn could be burned at the stake and her ideas and goals not altered. She could serve twenty years in prison and not emerge with kinder feeling toward human beings, or respect for property. She is not mentally defective, she is not insane, the Juvenile Court recognizes that its responsibility to society and to Evelyn will cease in three years. After that she is "free."

There is only one course in the limited condition of our knowledge and that is to place Evelyn in the state training school for girls.¹ Here she will be no discipline problem. She will break some hearts,—both of girls and matrons, cause many an insidious feud, perhaps even an investigation, but here she will be safe.

One hope exists for Evelyn, for the best results of which she should have been discovered ten years earlier,—the Mental Hygiene Clinic,—but that will be described in another chapter.

Case V

Swiftly now we turn from the tragedy of an abnormal personality to a comedy of errors: a court

¹ After two years at the State Training School Evelyn was paroled. She married a wealthy old man (not the one who paid her tuition) and at latest information she is enjoying life in taxicabs and hotels and steamships while she and her husband tour the South Seas.

room full of adults who have busied themselves in a children's quarrel.

Six children, boys and girls under fourteen years of age, are charged with malicious mischief. A boy of ten has hit a boy of fourteen on the head with a tin can. Three boys of eight, ten and eleven years have thrown stones into the yard next door, owned by an elderly lady, torn up her plants, stolen her gold fish and disturbed her peace by roller skating on the cement walks. A tom-boy of a girl of twelve is the playmate of these boys. The elderly lady has seen her go with boys into tall grass in the neighboring field where they all lay down. Soon the lady who was watching the scene with opera-glasses saw the grass ripple and began to fear the worst. The children had used rough language. Their parents did nothing to control them,—on the contrary when one father had heard his son call the lady "an old hen," and even a shout of "You are the Kaiser's wife!" he had laughed.

"Do you make no effort to control your children?" the father was asked.

He was a bronzed Italian fisherman with a fat wife and six children.

"Oh, I know nothing about it. For three weeks I have been away on my boat fishing. I land to-day. They hand me a paper. I must at once come to the court, so I leave my boat. I cannot even sell my fish. All is waste!"

"When did this alleged misconduct happen?"

The old lady "thinks" it happens every day, but she especially remembers one afternoon a year ago . . .

There is a stir in the court room. Each one tries to speak at once. Witnesses are incoherent, full of

recriminations. Charges fly from blasphemy and bootlegging to incest. One neighbor thinks the children are beaten too severely, another that they do as they please.

The truth is these children are ordinary children and their parents capable of meeting their problems. It is a neighborhood row. The place for it would have been police court had not the old lady filed on the children. The Juvenile Court has given the neighbors the necessary remedy—a place to talk—with some semblance of order, and restraint of law. All feel better: talk,—that universal safety-valve of petty emotions, and big ones,—has relieved pressure. The case is dismissed. The children and their neighbors go home.

The court has given them a little lecture on tolerance, on caution before starting unnecessary litigation, on neighborly goodwill, on essential rights of childhood to use cement sidewalks for roller-skating, on the wisdom of having back yards big enough to dig caves and play house in; to the children the court has smiled back into innocent eyes, glowing with health, and has sighed to think how soon they will grow up,—exactly like their parents.

Case VI

The next case is a boy nine years old, of French descent. The petition alleges that he has stabbed a boy aged twelve in the back with a knife improvised from a pair of scissors. Charles, the stabber, denies it. The boys were in school together; the younger boy was teased by playmates, but not by the boy who was stabbed. The young victim is pale. It is two weeks after the stabbing, but he still shows loss of

blood and weakness. He tells his story: the younger boys were playing in the yard after school. Charles was under a heap of boys crying about something.

"I walked off over the hill; suddenly I saw Charles taking after me. I just went on and suddenly he caught up with me,—his face was all twisted up terribly and when I turned my back again he stabbed me with this knife."

"Had you said anything to Charles on the school grounds?"

"No," replied the boy. "I heard some one say something about a girl,—his being like a girl, but I said nothing."

All were asked to leave the court room so that Charles could speak freely. He is extremely thin and nervous, there are blue veins on his forehead. His restless body, his small green eyes are ever on the move.

"Come, Charles, tell me how did you hurt the boy?"

"I didn't hurt him. He hurt himself."

Charles has a speech defect, a kind of sucking lisp, and his lips often move as if sucking something.

"Charles, I don't think the boy hurt himself. Was he ever mean to you?"

"Yes, he was awful mean. He twisted my arm and called me names."

(So far as could be learned the wounded boy had never injured his assailant in any way, was almost a stranger to him.)

"Well then did you stick the knife in him?"

"No, I had the scissors in my hand and he ran into them."

Charles, throughout the inquiry, never called his weapon anything but "scissors" although it was

proved that he had made the knife on the school grindstone.

During the hearing Charles is excluded from the room. It is not healthy for Charles to hear what adults think of him, or for him to build any higher his wall of denial, fear and resentment. A wrong has been committed against one boy, but it will in no way help matters if Charles' attitude of fear and defense is strengthened in the court procedure.

When Charles is questioned by the court it is to gain foothold in his trust and to win his confidence so that some glimpse may be had into his forlorn life and its mainspring.

Gentleness in such cases is essential. Charles is not much more than a baby. He is three years retarded mentally, possibly feeble-minded. His outlook is limited to that of a six-year-old child. Irreparable damage may be done his entire life if now he is roughly treated.

Charles' father is a dissipated man with syphilis; he is cruel to his three children and indifferent to his wife. Who could not be indifferent to such a wife unless he went mad! Charles' mother is a great, voluble woman with high color and high temper. She works in a millinery shop, violently creating atrocities . . . She maintains that she feeds her children well.

"I give them meat, nothing but meat, great roasts, —big as this," and she indicates the size of a barrel.

But obviously Charles is poorly nourished, and quite literally has been "reared on a bottle, and fed from a paper sack."

His discipline has been erratic as his meals, now heavy and ill-considered, now startling or omitted altogether.

Neither of his parents have a psychosis (are insane) but there is mental ill-health in his family, i.e., jealousy, anger, irritability, suspicion, self-indulgence and lack of joy in the business of parenthood. Never has Charles known security, or warm steady affection which gives stability to childhood. His weak voice has been often raised in frenzies of fear and anxiety, unable to win for himself any place in the interests of his parents, he is subject to outbursts of temper and grief.

Charles is placed by court in a religious boarding school, his parents ordered to pay for him. Under the kindly régime of his teachers he will gain health. What the future will hold none may tell.

Charles is not a frequent type in Juvenile Court. Yet every year in every large city numerous violent assaults are committed by young children and their number is on the increase. Usually in the home life of these children there are psychopathic traits, that is to say, disharmonies and emotional abnormalities among the parents. Probably such homes should be broken up. They are not really interested in children, and through them children suffer. Legal obstacles are numerous, for these parents are loudly clamorous of their rights. They wish to possess and to dominate their children, they resent supervision. Fortunately for society, Charles came to Juvenile Court at an early age. He can be legally protected for many years. There is some possibility for his reëducation, but it is not great in the present state of our knowledge.

Case VII

Four girls, fourteen, sixteen, fifteen and seventeen years of age are next on the calendar. They are high school students, healthy young Americans of "good" families. They are involved in a "school scandal." One was discovered by her teacher to possess a notebook of dull obscenities, sex jokes and drawings, together with improper parodies of popular songs, and what would have been, if true, a casual, supposedly witty account of rape on a school girl. These she had obtained from another girl, the delicate daughter of a minister, who in turn had received them from a taxicab driver. This young fellow, on being brought to court, was discovered by psychological examination to be feeble-minded. The notebook had circulated among students, brilliant, dull, rich and poor.

The four girls now before the court were the popular, well-dressed daughters of good families. They smoked, drank (when they could get it) rode home from dances in taxicabs with young men, took all night joy-rides, used a great deal of paint and powder, swore at their parents. Each had a "daddy," although the tenure of office and length of service of these young lovers were precarious. The girls were sophisticated, tired; any exertion, besides dancing, wore them out. They detested athletics, books and housework. They stood about average in high school work.

Three boys were also before the court, as witnesses, aged fifteen, seventeen and twenty. They were prominent students in scholarship and activities. They were not, it seems, "daddies" of these girls, but there was some imperative, diplomatic reason

why they should "help" the girls who were in a "scrape" or impending unpleasantness at home. So, the youngest boy obtained the parental automobile, the three boys and four girls "eloped," that is to say, went to the neighboring county-seat to procure marriage licenses. En route gasoline gave out. Thereupon the parental car was abandoned, and a strange one commandeered. In talking it over at leisure it was decided not to marry, the parents would probably "fuss," if one thing more than another was to be avoided it was "fuss." Now these girls were pretty and delicate, daintily reared, and the boys were "manly," "regular fellows" in good society, yet in court they admit, not only sexual familiarity, but promiscuity and disregard of simplest requirements of decency and affection which would arouse honest contempt in the mind of a longshoreman. Early in the morning they had arrived at a road-house, and being without funds or gasoline, one of the boys telephoned to his parents. Now, charged with theft and immorality, they are before the court.

They presented an amazing contrast to their parents. One would have thought it was the parents who were laboring under burden of guilt, while the children were calm and rather disinterested. Clearly the parents behaved as if the pillars of their family esteem had suddenly collapsed; dazed with surprise and humiliation they sat with bowed heads, utterly pitiable. On the other hand the young people were courteous, frank, submissive to questions of court, but there were frequent smiles and impatience at the futility of it all.

Each had what is called a "good" home, above average in comforts, and in good standing in public opinion.

There are two tasks for the Juvenile Court: first to pierce the crust of composure, to reach in these girls and boys central tissues that are still sensitive, to awaken them to insight of their actual human predicament; and second to assist these adults, the parents, teachers and neighbors to an understanding sympathy.

The parents of the girls wish to take them home, but they demand punishment of the boys. Parents of the boys obviously view these girls as the mother of Samson would gaze upon Delilah. Their sons have never spent a night away from home, they are girl-shy, their morals are unimpeachable. Some one must be *guilty* they think, but they cannot believe it is their boys.

The District Attorney too is inclined to think the first duty of law is to determine who is the guilty party. Naturally he interrogates the twenty-year-old young man: he is just finishing high school, illness and lack of money have retarded him. Devoted to his mother, his reputation is beyond reproach. He surely knew better, there is no excuse for his having relations with two of the girls. On the other hand the District Attorney doubts whether the jury would convict him, whether it wouldn't displease the judge to see these pert, jolly girls who admit they spent fifteen minutes "kidding" him before he got into the machine. One has a visual image of his clean room at home with pictures of Iowa cousins, and then of the tank in the county jail, filthy, diseased, obscene, the very bricks smeared with contamination.

The Juvenile Court explains to the parents that the girls, equally with the boys are responsible. Equally guilty are parents, school and court; clearly

we are part of a human family which has failed in the elemental duty of bringing up our young. It is now a question not of degree of guilt, or weight of punishment, but of understanding and helping young people. The school has expelled them, the neighbors stripped them naked with talk, but they would be made welcome in every dance-hall, cabaret or brothel, in town. Suddenly the court is conscious of responsibility of the instrument which the state has created to fulfill the duties of socialized parenthood and wonders how the public can be content with any but the wisest men and women in that place.

Sex is not sacred to them, or terrifying; it is merely fun. While their attitude may be less harmful than that of some of their critics, it is still dangerous, inadequate and abnormal, running swiftly into perversions. The court will send each young person with his or her parents, if possible, to a socially-minded physician to be instructed in the elements of sex hygiene, for be it well understood all their glib, seeming information is spurious. They do not know the body and its rules, any more than they know the spirit of the creative force which they have been destroying. The court, by probing, simple questions, tries to bring to them a sense of birth, child-rearing, nursing, illness, love, courtship, self-sacrifice, discovery, struggle and happiness, parenthood and death. Not fear, but understanding, and pity (where it is needed for helplessness, disease, blindness, suffering among the innocent, etc.) are sought, and since in race-history human situations have not changed much, these young people are often genuinely impressed after their visits to orphanages, children's hospitals and the like. Their parents have shielded them and have veiled reality, but the court

has never faced a "flapper" who has not been somewhat touched by a true life-situation, squarely presented. Funny parodies in the notebook become not quite so funny, if the mystery is removed, and biological sequences revealed. The court, however, would be guilty of a wrong did it not see that in sex-instruction furnished these young people by doctor and probation officer, emphasis was on health and joy, rather than upon disease and pain.

To parents the court must stress need of studying their individual children, of not blaming other young people for their children's delinquencies; of need of vigor in parenthood, not alone physically, but in ideals of family life which make child-rearing a genuine fulfillment.

Surprising as it appears after hearing evidence, the largest proportion of these boys and girls from high schools and good neighborhoods, if taken to court early for first delinquencies, if there they are wisely handled, under adequate probation officers, if home, school, church and court coöperate, make good. They do not repeat delinquencies, they look on their former conduct as a fad they have dropped; they become rather sober-minded, critical young American citizens.

Case VIII

Otherwise is the case of Consuela, aged seventeen years and eleven months. She is a girl of Mexican parents, born in America. Her parents are farmers, industrious folk, who follow seasonal agricultural industries, fruits and nuts, and move about as crops demand. Consuela is dark and heavy-set with a soft voice and slow movements. She is

healthy, with the exception of venereal disease. Mentally she has reached the intellectual level of a child of eleven years. She can cook, sew and wait on table. Her personality is pleasing, kindly, tractable, yielding.

She has killed a man of thirty, an American, by shooting him with a pistol. In her "vanity-case," when she was taken to police station were a bottle of perfume, rouge, lip-stick and sixty one-dollar bills. It was a dispute over these sixty dollars that had caused murder.

Two years before Consuela had left her parents, with their consent, to work in the city. She was a waitress in cheap restaurants. The murdered man had put her to work for him on the streets, soliciting men for money. He paid the rent, bought meals and gave her thirty cents for each dollar. The night of the shooting he was drunk and had taken all her money. She asked him to return some of it. He had pulled his gun. In the struggle she obtained the pistol and shot him through the lung. Now she was crying. Frank was good to her; she had not meant to hurt him.

One year before, Consuela had been arrested in a raid and taken into police court where she was cowed by presence of men. She lied as to her age, saying she was twenty-one, for there stood Frank outside with threats of vengeance, and promise of bail.

Here it was different. Only a woman court official could have obtained Consuela's story entirely.

It was a strange assemblage in court; landladies with plumes, policemen in uniform, men and women from the underworld, taxicabs and limousines lined up outside, boys who, as Consuela's patrons, had been summoned as witnesses. Friends of Frank,

young men in silk shirts, with flashy rings, soft white hands and well pressed suits tried to prove that Consuela was eighteen,¹ and should be tried by the criminal court for murder.

Finally the underworld reluctantly seemed to admit that though one of their number had been wrongfully done to death, it must be reckoned a casualty of business, they donned their hats, adjusted wraps and went home, leaving the Juvenile Court to deal with Consuela.

The child-mind in the heavy young body was dazed and wearied. The court placed her in custody of the probation officer and sent her for safe-keeping to the Convent of the Good Shepherd. Later if there is a "vacancy" in that list of five hundred waiting to be admitted to the State School for the Feeble-minded, Consuela will be transferred thither.

Neither Frank nor Consuela will be missed from the underworld, for their ranks close without break as the doors of the Convent shut upon the girl, and the lid of the coffin is nailed over the body of Frank.

Case IX

Ruth is twelve years of age. She has been cruelly beaten and neglected. Her father is a bootlegger. In court he admitted to the jury that he "owed most of his success to his wife," though he seemed to bear no special feeling of gratitude.² She was in jail charged with contributing; her patrons had entertained themselves in presence of the child, and she

¹ Concurrent jurisdiction between ages of 18 and 21. See Juvenile Court Laws of California and Colorado.

² As the man is said to have done in the "Real Story of ■ Bootlegger." Published by Boni and Liveright.

had forced Ruth to submit to their attentions. These men were now in court, one a plumber with wife and children, two were policemen, and one an old man.

Ruth was rosy and curly-haired. She was not an intelligent girl, but she told her story accurately, in simple, terse English, and was not shaken by the pompous, intolerably insinuating questions of the mother's lawyer, a middle-aged man with an enormous diamond ring on his pudgy hand. No, clearly Ruth had not sought seduction. The jury would have no doubt at all, for these adults in pursuit of cruel pleasures, had become so habituated that they hardly saw anything wrong, and had taken no precautions about land-ladies, delivery men, who corroborated Ruth's story.

Ruth was not troubled. Her mind was dwelling not on tragedies, but on such concrete facts as these men were mean, had not given her candy, mother was cross and made her carry out garbage, and when they turned on the phonograph at night she could not sleep.

No one, save court officials, considered it an enormity that Ruth had been sacrificed to adult greed, lust, cruelty and ignorance. The men were "sorry for the kid," but after all it was "darned mean" to tell on them and cause trouble. "The kid was no saint herself." Ruth smiles defiantly, pleased with the protecting gentleness of the court, happy she is to go to grandmother in the country. Ruth's real problems will begin a few years later, when these adults have finished terms in prison; not now, but in early maturity will these seeds of evil push beneath the soil, and the extent of neglect and misuse of childhood be made apparent.

Case X

No day in Juvenile Court can close without one or more runaway girls. They leave home to hang around railroad stations, beauty shops, army or navy posts, or anywhere they are permitted to congregate. They run off to join circuses, traveling troupes. The quest for adventure is as strong to-day in girls as boys. To furnish it harmlessly is the task of modern parents and cities. Chiefly nowadays in Los Angeles girls run off to enter the movies. They come from every state, almost every town, to be America's next "Sweetheart" or vampire.

Josephine was tall and well-made. She looked nineteen, but gave her age as sixteen (the favorite romantic age of movies). Her story was "sad." Brought up by aged parents in New York, recently dead, she was compelled to seek her living. The kindest possible man paid her fare to Denver. She ushered in a theater, finally she and her "girl friend" decided to "hike" to Los Angeles. The girl friend was in court to prove it with newspaper pictures and interviews headed "Pretty Girls off to Seek Fortunes in the Movies." The girls admitted that most of their "hiking" had been from the front seat of automobiles. In Los Angeles they sought the movie colony. Familiarity with slang phrases, places, names, technique of the motion picture world, together with details of private affairs of men and women of the camera left no doubt that they had pierced through the magic circle of Hollywood. Most of this vocabulary is furnished in magazines, but hardly the peculiar atmosphere of cheap excitement, vanity, make-up and worthlessness which these girls exhaled. They had been hired a day or two as

"extras" in some mass scene, and then "kicked out." Then they must seek assistance of some "good" woman, or social organization, or "earn" their living on the streets. But these girls who drift to court, about-to-enter-the-movies, apparently seek advice from some man who, together with charitable inclinations seems to require some profit in the way of casual embraces. So, more or less broken in body and spirit, the girl reaches the Juvenile Court.

Josephine clung to her story, even after telegrams arrived from New York and Denver stating that she had never been heard of in those places.

Finally after weeks of good feeding and care in the Detention Home, Josephine requested to come to court where she declared her name was Ella Brown from Wichita, Kansas, her mother and father owned the biggest grocery store there, and weeping, she had no desire on earth but to return home. Ella meant this, and the court restored her to her parents.

Case XI

Sam Jones lives in Missouri. He is about to run for state legislature. Six years ago his wife divorced him, the court gave custody of their child, a girl of seven, to the mother. Child and mother came to California. She remarried, a thick-set young man who drove taxis, flirted with pretty girls and took life good-humoredly. The mother was slender with vivid coloring, graceful body and rhythmic voice. They lived in a beach resort in a cheap apartment with the child, now thirteen years of age. They were very gay. The girl was often left alone while the parents went to dance-halls and joy-rides, but as the young mother explained to the court:

"She is not *alone*; I leave the dog home too."

Once there was a street fight and the step-father, after swinging fists to advantage "sassed" the policeman. The wife had shown more loyalty than discretion: indeed the policeman in court alleged her language shocked him. After that the police kept vigilant eye upon the young woman, and when her soft, high-colored cheek rested against that of some passing sailor-boy in carefree fashion of the popular dance-hall, she was asked to leave.

This and much, much more, was related to Sam Jones back in Missouri by his tourist friends who, in an effort to picture the gay, abandoned life led by citizens of California in beach-resorts, heightened colors and deepened shadows that surrounded his ex-wife. Sam Jones lived in no such gayety. He began to brood. He conceived it his mission to hire lawyers and detectives and have his thirteen-year-old daughter declared free from custody of an unfit mother.

To-day the court must hear the evidence. The child is a well-mannered, quiet little girl, carefully dressed in hand sewn clothes made by the mother; she is regular in school, better behaved than the average child of respectable parents. After hearsay evidence has simmered down, and one has discounted the rather sordid imaginations of the police, the brilliant deductions of detectives and fears of welfare workers, there emerges only a happy little girl of thirteen, and her slangy, well-intentioned step-father and thoughtless young mother, trying to be gay in ways ready-made by the beach-resort town. Really the only serious member of the family is the dog. There is no trace of that evil and vicious web which was conjured up in the mind

of Sam Jones, aided by his wishes and his neighbors.

The mother promises to look after her child discretely; as her eyes meet the court they are moist and grateful.

The father's lawyer strongly presents his plea that the child, at least one-half the time, be subjected to the influence of his prominent law-abiding client.

"He will bear all expense. I ask this court not to deprive this child of the noble influence of her father. Let her spend summers with him and winters with her mother. After all he *is* her father, he has sacred rights."

But the Juvenile Court is not concerned with rights of parents as such. Their contract is with each other: this court should conserve the interests, the welfare of the child.

It is *never* for the welfare of the child to be subjected to influence of two conflicting parents. If we would rear a mentally healthy child, it is better that she live with one parent, unless of course she can have two; but that is an increasing rarity in human life of the American child who comes before Juvenile Court.

Case XII

It is now dark: court has lasted all day. The concluding case is that of an unmarried mother and her baby. The girl is seventeen years old. Four years she has been a ward of court. Reared in an orphanage, at fourteen she was placed to work in a family. Her parents are dead. In the home where she worked she alleged she was initiated into sex-experiences by the man of the family and sent to Juvenile Court by his wife. Casual foster-home

placements followed. No one really wanted the girl who was plain and a great talker. Finally because of staying out late with boys, she was committed to the State Training School for Girls. Here she was tractable and good-natured. She learned to do useful things: in short became a home-maker. She had few permanent interests save making clothes and linens which she stored in a "hope chest." Hers was a friendless existence. She was not attractive to men or boys. Her mentality was "dull average," in school her record was good, she managed to finish two years in high school.

Paroled from school she was permitted to live with an elderly woman who took great care of her. This apparently met with the girl's wishes, she had asked to be placed where there were "no men folks to bother her." She was occupied with fancied attentions from male neighbors.

Suddenly it was discovered she was pregnant. She named a prominent young man in the community, there was no evidence that she told the truth.

There were no relatives competent, so she was placed in a maternity home where for six months she was trained in personal hygiene. She also learned to care for her baby.

She comes now before court in order that a permanent plan can be made for her welfare. Rosy with health, encircling her healthy baby in her arms, she is a picture of motherhood which would not be displeasing to a physician. Her eyes shine with new vigor and happiness.

"What is his name?" the court asks.

"Carl."

"And now tell us the truth. Who is the father?"

"Oh, let me really tell the truth! It was not Mr. X—; it was indeed not him. I am simply ashamed to tell you."

"Why, who was it then?"

"It was Jim—"

Jim, the ice-man, a young fellow of spotless neatness, beloved of housewives, as he never made muss in the kitchen. Jim, a casual bachelor of Armenian descent, had now decamped leaving not a trace.

"Whose fault was it that Jim did this to you?"

"Oh, it was mine! I as good as let him. I did indeed. I thought he might marry me if I had a child."

(So had reckoned Arabella in Hardy's "Jude the Obscure," but she had only pretended, whereas our young mother cheerfully had borne her child.)

"Now what do you wish to do?"

"I am going to keep my baby, my little Carl, forever, and work for him."

"Are you sure you can be a good mother?"

"Oh, ma'am, you watch and see!"

There could be no doubt, as one observed the maternal posture of the girl, her satisfied arms curving about her child in quiet ecstasy of happiness, that Carl's physical needs would receive their rightful attention.

Courts must take the short view of these matters; if any one thing is clearly fixed in law and nature it is the right of an infant to be fed and petted by the female who bore him.

Carl at present is no more concerned with mysteries of his future than Jim is concerned for him. Both are content to have sought of the girl only her contribution to their transitory warmth and comfort.

Carl, however, did not know that a year later his

young mother would be courted and married by a middle-aged oil-digger and that he and his mother would go to live in a country town with modern conveniences, including an enormous baby carriage with blue ribbons for Carl.

The little State School girl knew all along what she wanted; it took society some time to furnish it.

Conclusion to Chapter I

Court is over. These boys and girls will be seen frequently again. Those placed under supervision of probation officer will return for change of plan or commendation in the trying business of "making good," until, in judgment of court, the case with safety to child and neighborhood can be dismissed; jurisdiction, power to supervise, help, protect and control extends until the age of twenty-one.¹

Some will fail to make adjustments and will be placed in institutions. In every case the court will seek to make probation a constructive power, capable of fulfilling need of the child for wise parenthood.

On what principle have these twelve cases been selected out of thousands of matters which come yearly before court? Certainly selection has been made with no thought of illustrating completely all types of problems and personalities dealt with. So complex is the work, so vast and rushing the stream of disordered, perplexed humanity, that complete presentation would be impossible. Whole classes of cases under the jurisdiction of the modern Juvenile

¹ In California the marriage of a girl under twenty-one who is a ward of the Court does not release her from supervision unless so ordered by the Court. Statutes of Calif., 1915, p. 1225. This provision has been upheld by the Appellate Court, 30 Calif. App. 188.

Court have been omitted intentionally: for example, matters of adoption, guardianship, dependency, failure-to-provide, and the feeble-minded. The feeble-minded are a relatively simple problem. They comprise, it is variously estimated, from one-tenth to one-third the population of Juvenile Court, their needs are well understood, and unless with lack of intelligence they combine emotional disturbances which make control difficult, it is merely a matter of securing adequate social facilities for care, education, custody or community supervision.¹

Out of experience of Juvenile Court arise certain persistent images, frequently recurring types of human difficulty which appear to have significance for the social conflict: it has been the work of this chapter to present these. In every neighborhood in America, in every Juvenile Court these cases present themselves, under aspects varying with place and culture, but in human fundamentals the same: for example, there are children of immigrants whose quest for enlarged spiritual or economic life has not been realized in this country. Parents have not been able to infect their children with their ideals. Children have been cut off from their background, which in many immigrant groups, would have enriched life with art, imagination, sense for beauty, emotional warmth. Gifts of race are unproductive in lives of the children who are in conflict with their parents, and whose physical and mental cravings are in conflict with goals of industrial civilization. These "Children of Loneliness" inflict property damage. Their misplaced or thwarted energy

¹ Dr. Charles Bernstein, in "Mental Hygiene," Vol. IV, pp. 1-28, describes a hopeful experiment in the social treatment of mental defectives, January, 1920.

rushes forth in acts of "malicious mischief." A large proportion yield with success to early, intelligent probation supervision. Their need for nourishing food, medical attention, vivid, colorful experiences is being partially met by social organizations, playgrounds, modern "neighborhood" schools and settlements.¹

Constantly large numbers of boys like Clarence, girls like Clara, come before Juvenile Court with no apparent serious maladjustment. Their parents are average Americans. One wishes to avoid dogmatism, or harsh criticism, but certain facts are true of the home life of these children; it is all devoted to "making a living" in some place where there are "modern conveniences." In three generations of American family life the goal has changed from rearing healthy, active children to goals of modern business. Children are prematurely encased in brick and stone. Routine is dull, monotonous, need for adventure is not met. These boys and girls become incorrigible, steal, lie, run away, throw morals overboard. Their treatment is extraordinarily difficult because there is seemingly no way of changing habits and ideas of adults who control them.

Always there are cold, aloof girls like Evelyn who steal and swindle. They are seriously maladjusted personalities, with a mental twist; they require services of a psychiatrist. Probation alone cannot help them.²

The fifth case portrays a situation rarely absent from a Juvenile Court calendar, the unnecessary appearance of children in court. No amount of

¹ See article on Chinese children, Nora Sterry: *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 7, No. 6, pp. 325-333, July, 1923.

² See William Healy: "Mental Conflicts."

preliminary investigation appears to abolish this evil because trends of neighborhood gossip are so strong, so distorted that often misdeeds of children seem great indeed. In court testimony of neighbors put under oath, collapses. In many cases charges are trivial, again false. The community should be trained to know that charges, often of gravest nature, are made without foundation, even in "respectable" neighborhoods. If Juvenile Court procedure is good, and the children are not subjected to publicity, there is not often serious damage by the unnecessary litigation, save that parents lose time and work, and neighborhood ill-will is strengthened.

The duty of the court is to dismiss promptly every unwarranted petition, to educate adults as far as possible in the delightful art of living peacefully with children.

The case of Charles, nine-year-old stabber, is typical of scores of violent assaults committed by children of psychopathic tendencies. Cruelty in their home life flows through them into the community.¹

Case seven presented a group of young people in expressed, open conflict with parents, and current rules of morality. They readily assent to their own seduction, the community fails properly to protect them in matter of hotels, rooming houses, taxicabs and places of amusement. Their homes are "good." Such cases are a challenge to our present social standards and must be interpreted as such.

Consuela's case illustrates power of the Juvenile Court to deal effectively with problems of prostitu-

¹ By cruelty we need not understand gross physical acts. Often misuse of force, mental or moral, will produce in the child fear or anger or acts of violence which are defense-reactions.

tion and such serious crimes as murder. It typifies that small proportion of cases where the girl delinquent is a "slave" in some brothel. These conditions exist, as shown by popularized vice-commission reports, but they are rare. By no means all girl prostitutes have low mentality, but where the young girl "voluntarily" submits to life in the underworld for long periods of time, there is often an element of mental retardation.

Cruel, depraved adults who debase children are not rare. Ruth's story is typical of much Juvenile Court work.

The runaway "Josephine" and her craze for movies, is a case so frequent as to be stereotyped.

The eleventh case, that of the young woman accused of immorality and unfitness to retain custody of her child, is common. If a young woman is rough in manner, slangy and offhand with social workers and police officials, she is viewed with suspicion as a person of loose conduct. Courts have little difficulty with such cases; on the one hand evidence is flimsy; on the other the condition of the child, if well cared for, is best evidence that the mother is capable of safeguarding her welfare.

The unmarried mother problem is so complex, embracing as it does almost every type of personality, all levels of intelligence and all social classes, that any selection of type is arbitrary. Still it is wise to remember that sometimes maternity is a constructive act.¹ And sometimes society has provided so few legitimate opportunities to young domestics to meet men socially that cravings for illicit intercourse are natural results.

¹ See Mrs. Dummer's introduction to the "Unadjusted Girl" by Wm. I. Thomas.

These twelve cases, then, partially show the range of Juvenile Court material, limited to no social or intellectual level; they show main trends of conflict between child and community, and illustrate certain major patterns of the delinquency that runs through the web and texture of modern civilization.

CHAPTER II

THE CONFLICT IN THE HOME

REAL ESTATE DEALER: Home: a definition: "A Home: Own Your Own. You will feel Happier. Lot thirty by seventy-nine feet. Bungalow, four rooms and garage. Modern Up To The Minute."

American Poet: "Home is a place, where, if you have to go there, they have to take you in."

James Hinton: ¹ "Our happy Christian homes are the real dark places of the earth."

The Home: Coventry Patmore: ²

"For something that abode endued
With temple-like repose . . .

With ordered freedom, sweet and fair
A tent, pitched in a world not right."

These partial glimpses of home express its many aspects. To the Juvenile Court, also to the psychiatrist, the saying "A family is a tyranny ruled over by its meanest member," is a description of the conflict in homes which, in process of becoming "broken," send their members to courts, clinics and hospitals for insane.

The home has primary tasks to fulfill for its young: to shelter and nourish infancy in comfort,

¹ Quoted by Havelock Ellis, "Little Essays in Love and Virtue," p. 29.

² Anna Garlin Spencer quotes in "The Family and Its Members," p. 20.

without inflicting damage of premature anxiety; to enable the child to win health, virility and social esteem: to educate it to meet behavior codes of the community, to respond effectively to human situations which produce the great emotions, love, fear and anger; to furnish practice in the art of living together on a small scale where human relationships are kindly and simple; finally the home has as its supreme task the weaning of youth, this time not from the breast of the mother, but from dependence, from relying too much on that kindness and simplicity of home, so that youth may not fail to become imbued with joy of struggle, work and service among sterner human relationships outside.

Home should furnish the child with a clew, a thread, which, mingling later with results of his own spiritual discoveries, will become the guiding line of life, and reveal his place in nature. The home not only furnishes the child with its first knowledge of human personalities, but may open or shut the door to many fascinating interests: nature, adventure, books, ideas, discovery and conquest, failure and defeat. To do these things would be the work of the adequate home.

Social workers need not concern themselves with theoretical disputes about the family. They, like parents, must make the most of it. The family is in experimental stage,—that is to say,—now as from the beginning it is modifying its structure to meet enlarging needs of human beings. According to point of view the family may be going up or down; the social worker may be sure the family is not going out. As long as babies cry and smile, or children gasp with delight on being tossed, or boys fly kites, or girls put on adornment for graduation, sacrament

or marriage, a woman and man will be found standing together, raising funds to enjoy the spectacle.

Social workers, and all those who seek to influence the child, should accustom themselves to view the home clearly and simply. In the biologically healthy family the father is dominant but not cruel or mean; he has initiative in family affairs, in his work and social relations. He is in love with his wife and takes an interest in the welfare of each of his children.¹ The mother is a satisfied woman. She is comfortable, that is to say, she is not restlessly seeking her life-gratification apart from mate and children. If she goes out to do something for the community she is simply spreading the cloak of her mothering a little wider. Her idea of her family may include other families, larger groups of men and women, cities, the country, the whole world perhaps, as women like Jane Addams do; but in these wider contacts the true mother may be known by the fact that she seeks not to exploit herself, nor to gain personal distinction: she is not trying to dominate, but to nourish, and her attitude toward childhood, her feeling toward true sources of satisfaction in life will not change. This mother will desire the welfare of each of her children, without selfishness, whims, hypocrisy or pretense. Both parents will genuinely love and enjoy children, will seek to understand them, will have respect for their unfolding personalities. Each will have "interests outside the home," that is to say, be occupied with some thoughts and feelings beyond bread-winning, and their personal relationship to one another. But as long as

¹ Kempf: "Psychopathology." A most illuminating study of the family. Pp. 76-117.

children are being reared, the chief interest will be growth of the children in body, intelligence, personality and social relationships.

No child has a good home if these fundamentals are lacking, no matter what conveniences or modern up-to-the-minute devices there may be in the household. No home is unfit if there is harmony between the parents and the children are wisely loved, however great may be some social worker's disapproval of the cat asleep on the bed, or disorder in the kitchen.

Doubtless it will be objected that this statement of family aims is too limited. It is demanding too much of parents, is cramping their lives. On the contrary, rightly understood, the interests of childhood are broad as those of the race itself; there are no limits to growth of the individual who seeks to serve youth. It is true that many parents cannot find their satisfaction in children, and for them exists conflict between interests in business, pleasure, personal beauty, art, science, adventure and the interests of children. Such parents are restless until they obtain freedom from insistent demands of babies; they ask no questions when the boy or girl seeks the streets and automobile, or readily they accept lies told them by the young people because the adults so passionately desire peace, or license to do as they please. Such adults may serve society creditably and be useful to their neighbors, or create some worthwhile thing: the tragic thing is that they should be parents if they do not love children. It is surprising how many parents, how many adults, fail to love children: that is, in the big, disinterested biological way of unselfishly rearing a child to physical and mental health, without demanding in return some

subtle payment that forever robs the young of full growth to independent adulthood.

Doubtless it will be felt that it is hard to find the normal family. The writer does not pretend to knowledge that would unravel domestic problems of our "broken homes." All that is clear is practically no child ever brought before the Juvenile Court has a home that fulfilled the standards of the biologically healthy family group. Or to state it differently, that home where interests of childhood are secondary to those of business, pleasure or personal ambition, is potentially a delinquent-producing home.

The child, struggling from infancy to win affection and esteem from each member of the family, is living in a world of conflict. This is healthy. This is splendid. The normal child should earn his way by acts and attitudes which are pleasing to good parents, and bring rewards of approval, success and love. It is conflict which makes life interesting. But it should not be unequal; nor should demands be harsh or evil or beyond the powers of the child.

Selfish parental attitudes produce delinquency. Often the conflict rages unseen between interests of parents and child, and is unexpressed, save in ways so baffling, so apparently removed from the family circle that the true cause of delinquency is not guessed.

Paul was the notorious run-away of three states. He began at four years of age. He lived in the suburbs of a large city. He ran the streets without fear. He never returned home voluntarily, but went submissively with police or social worker. These excursions occurred every few days. When he was older he ran away by electric cars and automobiles.

He knew the country from mountain to desert and back to the sea. When sent to a Playground Camp "On the Rim of the World," he ran into the mountains. A welfare organization placed him in six carefully chosen and supervised private homes. Before he was eleven years old he had come before the Juvenile Court at least thirty times for running away. He never stole. Unlike Healy's boy,¹ no one was indulgent to him en route. He often went hungry because he was too shy to ask for food; he did not gain petting of adults by his running away.

Paul was free from serious physical defect, the laboratories of physician and psychologist could discover no syphilis or epilepsy, or nervous disorder. Mentally he was retarded, (Intelligence Quotient eighty-four per cent) so that his absorption in machinery, in maps and street-cars (he knew every carline for hundreds of miles, and played games with boys in the Detention Home using twenty as units in an imaginary traffic system, usually without error) could not furnish his teachers with much hope for vocational training. His personality was shy, rather "shut-in," always contented, never mischievous. He liked a good view, would climb a hill and look with pleasure at the landscape, drawing a deep breath. He had no special friends or human love-objects except a quiet affection for his mother.

No efforts to prevent running away had effect. When he was seven years old he responded to the question: "Why do you run away?"

"There is no grass in my yard at home, either in the front or in the back."

But this was not the real reason, for when his

¹ Healy, Wm.: "Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies," Series I, case 7, p. 11a.

probation officer supplied grass, toys, miniature railways, and a tool shop in the home, he ran just the same. Psychiatric analysis of his difficulty failed to find a clew. His father and mother coaxed and punished to no avail. His father tied him up, sewed labels on his clothes, and when this failed, had a metal tag welded about his neck so that he could be identified. Finally the father had a ball and chain made for Paul and the court intervened.

Paul's mother was a big, kindly woman, devoted to her three boys, one seventeen and one younger than Paul. Paul's father had been a ship's carpenter. He was irritable, unsatisfied and restless at home. He provided well.

Suddenly he was arrested, sent to jail, tried and convicted of sodomy. The older and younger sons were witnesses against him, so were other boys in the neighborhood. Paul resolutely maintained his father had never approached him in this manner, nor was there evidence that he had. Paul's ability to express himself in words is too poorly developed, and his whole personality too infantile for us to be sure of our ground.

It seems probable that at about the time running away began, Paul (having been trained by his mother to modesty) received some impression from his father's acts, or attitude, which shocked him. Unable to take comfort at home, he took refuge in the periphery. Between his childhood need for security and his father's perversion, came conflict. The swift movement of his muscles, the change of scene, the excitement of the road at first gave him a feeling of relief and security, finally afforded him pleasure and satisfaction, and the habit of running away took possession of him, body and soul. All

this is theoretical in Paul's case, as our conclusions must often be in cases of young, timid, inarticulate children. Clearly Paul's father was devoted to cruel pleasures, did not truly love his wife, and was unable, or unwilling to serve the best interests of each of his children.¹

A boy of six was brought to Juvenile Court by his father, a "shell-shocked" soldier. He was a child of superior intelligence, dark eyed, healthy, attractive. He had temper tantrums, tore and destroyed clothing and household articles. He tried to set fire to houses and to gouge out the eyes of his infant brother. The child's mother was frail, she loved her husband, but was fearful of pregnancy; her children meant to her only agony and terror. She exaggerated all discomforts, even nursing was to her a sufficient cause of nerves, tears and debility. Her whims and anxieties filled both her husband and herself with constant alarm. On being removed from this home, temporarily, the boy of six showed no further marked disorders of temper. He became tractable, affectionate, interested in his play and school.

Such cases, when neglected, come later to criminal courts and insanity commissions on charge of arson, violent assault, or perversions. This child of six yielded almost immediately to the simple treatment of being surrounded with adults who were more interested in him than in their own fears and anxieties.

A recent poet speaks of a plant in the tropics as a "green vine angering for life."² This expression

¹ Paul now is in an institution: arrangements are being made for treatment in the light of this new information.

² Wallace Stevens: "Harmonium," Alfred A. Knopf, p. 138.

can be applied to some children who come before the court; literally they appear to be "angering for life," so intense is their struggle, so great is their need for real support. Their energy manifests itself in strange acts; they lie, steal, set fires, fling themselves into passionate attitudes, become violently angry, annoy and bewilder their parents and teachers who do not guess the underlying cause which is their own adult attitudes, and selfish absorptions. In certain homes it is as if the older members stunted and dwarfed the younger by absorbing all the nourishment, that is to say, the attention, approval, affection and chance to win social esteem which are the sources of growth to personality.

Vivian was thirteen years old. She was an attractive girl with average intelligence. When brought before the Juvenile Court she had been riding in automobiles with men late at night, and occasionally drinking liquor. Her real difficulty, however, was ungovernable temper. She had been a child prodigy, dancing on the professional stage for seven or eight years previous. Although attractive to men and prematurely exposed to masculine attention, she had never yielded to a lover. Once, before going on with her act she had fancied some older girl was to be preferred in the scene, and she attacked this girl, and set fire to the wings of the theater. On being placed in a private school by her mother, she tried to burn it down. When expelled, she went to live in a hotel room with her mother; so frequent were tantrums, screaming, tearing of clothes, smashing furniture, that her mother was asked by landlords and police to move from place to place.

Her parents were divorced. Her father was a cruel, domineering man, her mother of cold tem-

perament, devoted to finery, to pleasures of living in comfortable surroundings. Vivian had never known family affection, or normal play. Her possession of physical charm had been used by her mother, first to gain admiration and pleasure for herself in "owning such an attractive daughter," later to earn a living for both on the professional stage.

Vivian's temper tantrums after two years of treatment in a private school (where the routine is simple and the muscular outlets vigorous) have almost disappeared, and with them all desire for excitements of the theater, which, to tell the truth, never appealed to her. She is content to romp and study like any youngster of fifteen. In Vivian's case there was struggle to win her mother's interest and affection. When her mind was turned from this hopeless task to the more possible goal of succeeding in an atmosphere of healthy, country school life, her behavior became normal.

To the maladjusted child in the family-group, life is an anxiety; it dwells under a nameless shadow of fear, often a sense of guilt and inferiority. It is forced into the domestic arena, sometimes as participant, sometimes as silent spectator condemned to lose no matter which partner wins. Adults often imagine in domestic strife the only damage done the child is neglect, or temporary suffering, if it is deprived of a mother's physical care, or the bread winning capacity of the father. But the damage is more extensive and may permanently destroy the child's mental health. No amount of "patching it up" or "returning to live together for the sake of the child" can restore the child if there is an undercurrent of hostility, suspicion and dislike between

the parent. For little children are not so much influenced by words and actions of adults as by attitudes.¹

The court has seen a little boy cuddled against the breast of a hard-swearing, hard-working father, alleged to be "violent tempered and cruel" by the mother, refuse to go to this same mother, whose complacent smile illustrated her inner content with her own righteousness, but the child *knew*, the father was a source of comfort to him, and the mother a source of anxiety. Children, like animals, respond to the attitudes of human beings which reveal their inmost nature.

A father and mother of good social position quarreled constantly. The wife worried over supposed infidelity of the husband, and on several occasions separated from him. After reconciliation the husband left on business. The wife employed a detective who surprised the man in a hotel room with a girl, and acting under orders from the wife, took them both to the police station. There was publicity and scandal. Nevertheless, after consulting with their many friends, both parents decided "to patch it up for the sake of the children." The home is an armed camp of a triumphant wronged woman, and a half-defiant sulky male, with the children taking sides as the needs and profit of the situation suggest. There are two, a girl of three, now going into tuberculosis,² and a boy of a year who is developing temper tantrums.

For welfare of the child it is best to subject it to

¹ Kempf: "Psychopathology," p. 747.

² That pulmonary tuberculosis may be conditioned by anxiety and emotional maladjustment is suggested by Dr. W. A. White. See "Mechanisms of Character Formation," pp. 196, 268, Macmillan Co., 1920.

influence of only one of the combating parents; two conflicting attitudes are almost certain to produce break-down in the child, in health, sanity or morals.

Genevieve, aged nine, is the daughter of a mild-mannered father who likes to move from place to place, even if his family must spend much time in automobile "camps."¹ The mother, aged about forty, is lonesome, nervous, she is "homesick" for Kansas, "her age is telling on her." She lacks moral energy to complain to the father; secretly she takes revenge by all manner of whims, artifices and "illnesses" which keep the household in turmoil. Genevieve is her confidante. The child, when found by the court, had been out of school six months. She did cooking, washing and nursing for the family. She heard endless complaints about the father, and bore the full burden of the mother's domestic life and detailed misinformation of "female-troubles." Genevieve is a normal child, mentally; (intelligence quotient one hundred and seven per cent); cheerfully she "helped" her mother: the outward symptoms of her distress were persistent bedwetting, a slight speech defect, and stealing.

Occasionally children appear whom nature has defended from domestic conflict. Elsie, aged eight, aroused the respect of the court by her clear presentation of the relative merits of her parent's divorce. Young children, in good Juvenile Court procedure, are *never* asked questions which would tend to prejudice the influence of either parent, but frequently they volunteer information. Elsie was

¹ It is estimated that there are 7,500 families in Los Angeles County living in automobile camps. This is an all-year-round condition, caused not so much by poverty as the prevailing family restlessness, and Fords!

small, blue-eyed, with a decisive manner and a personality which, in spite of her eight years, was remarkably mature:

"My father doesn't really want me at all. He wants to make my mother feel bad. He is *mean*; he doesn't say anything and he doesn't whip me, but he doesn't like little girls."

The mother was an immoral woman, and the child was happily being lodged with her grandmother pending the divorce.

"My mother is awful good to me; she loves me the best, but I guess I won't live with either of them because mother goes out with men."

This sturdy child should not be pitied; she possesses insight; she is vastly better off than children conditioned to cling to unparental parents.

We have seen how an inarticulate conflict between parents, and between interests of child and adults may express itself in sickness, nervous disorders, temper, running away, stealing, assaulting, setting fires and other acts of a criminal nature in young children. We now seek to examine the conflict which is open and expressed between parents and their adolescent boys and girls.

The normal family is dynamic; its standards are constantly enlarging to meet requirements of the changing ethics of the world, and in process of this adjustment it carries youth along with it. New ideas of political and industrial relations, war and peace, Christian fellowship, treatment of women, crime and punishment, religious dogma are discussed. Parents by vigor and clarity of thought furnish their children with a guiding-line. Hence these children honor and love their parents, who in the only worthy and productive sense "possess"

their children and fulfill the saying of the Chinese philosopher :

"We keep only that which we set free."¹

Such families realize times are changing and they have courage and faith. This description of the healthy parental attitude is not modern. The Talmud expresses it in the admonition :

"Limit not thy children to thine own idea. They were born in a different time."

Such children never come before the Juvenile Court, but as healthy young people, they become excellent parents, social workers, or leaders on intellectual frontiers.

The task of the family is to develop admiration for behavior-codes that mean preservation and health of the family. If the guiding principle of the family is impotent in the second or third generation, something is radically wrong.

Radically wrong indeed is the attitude of parents in Juvenile Court who are timid and fear their own children. At home they make feeble efforts to make their children "obey," "not go out nights," "quit swearing," or "chasing out" with wild companions, protests which the young interpret as "nagging," "fuss," and "not being able to get along." In court these parents shelter their selfish, egotistical young people by lying, evading and other deceptions. In the presence of the children they are frightened; before answering a question they will pause, look furtively at the girl, who returns this pathetic appeal with haughty stare, then the mother will reply :

"No, I don't want Mary sent away. Really she was never out after eleven o'clock. I always knew who she was with."

¹ Lao-tse : Chinese philosopher.

The court in such cases will send the girl out of the room. The mother with a sigh of relief, or an outburst of tears, will pour out her story:

"Mary is out till five A. M. frequently; she is cruel to her mother, outrageous to her father; she is lazy, unclean, quarrelsome, and is driving me insane."

Why cannot this mother face Mary with calm affirmation of the family-stand on questions of selfish pleasure, pre-nuptial chastity and industry? Because the mother herself has lost faith in old standards of virtue. She lacks vigor to declare an emancipation, but she is full of self-pity for her drudging life; its lack of pleasure; she recalls her own drab, misunderstood, frequently-punished youth (when the Puritan home was losing its arts, crafts, its good cookery, and somber, rich coloring of the old faith, and there remained little of the spirit and very much of the letter of colonial church and home discipline), so in her words, she "wants Mary to have a good time."

Secretly the mother is filled with admiration of Mary. Again she lives her childhood in this girl, willing to suffer abuse and toil, fearful of repressing this "wildness" which expresses more or less distortedly her own wishes and ideas.

To save such girls and mothers it is necessary to remove them from their reversed, unnatural position. The girl should be jarred into awareness of her mother's pitiable condition, her chivalry should be awakened. If the girl then is capable of vigorous interest in life, not just its tinsel, she may become a leader in her home, and both mother and daughter enter together on a more satisfying, less destructive project of rejuvenation.

In this kind of expressed conflict and rebellion between parent and child, there is no fundamental difference in aim. All that is necessary to do is to show parents that they must discover what ideas and morals they can hold to, without pretense or hypocrisy, reduce the remainder to clear statement, cease fretting and "nagging"; and the children, who in reality have the same outlook as the parents, begin to understand and to respect the family point of view.

If the family ideal is not in harmony with reality, if it is outworn or has become hypocritical, the effect it produces in the young may be monstrous.

Patricia was the daughter, adopted in early infancy, of a man who clung to Southern ideals of charm in women, and a mother who lived a gay, fashionable life. Patricia was intelligent and healthy. During childhood she was dressed in silken underwear and reared with every refinement possible. Her parents were "correct" in their morals, and clung as long as possible to a belief in their daughter's virtue. Patricia at thirteen years of age came before the Juvenile Court having had almost innumerable contacts with truck drivers and young park loafers. The father said:

"It is *impossible* that this girl knew what she was doing. All women are good, they are angels. It is men who debase them. They are thoughtless, or frivolous, but never wicked until led astray by men."

The girl was sent away to a private school, perhaps to sow there the results of her parents' distorted views, while the father, crushed under the weight of an impossible ideal, sickened with heart disease.

Quite otherwise is expressed conflict between adolescents and parents where adults are wholly selfish. Self-centered parents often have well-adjusted, successful children; the parents "leave the children to themselves," go their way, demanding little or nothing. If prevailing community standards of conduct are good, the young people readily become independent, upright and vigorous. These successfully "neglected" children, however, only become adjusted where the breach between parent and child is complete; there must be no half-measures in fathers' absent-mindedness and mothers' gayety, no sudden erratic assumption of the discarded parental scepter: boy and girl, save for economic support, for best results, should be left to seek their goals outside the cooling family circle. If these parents produce results in their own lives that are at all creditable, the children often are proud to take them as models. There is a vast difference between offspring of adult absorption in adult pursuits and offspring of adults who not only are selfish, but seek to dominate and to possess their young.

Stephen was nineteen; his father, a prominent musician, was divorced from the mother, who was economically independent. Stephen loved girls; he had been in more than one "scrape," his reputation in school and neighborhood was bad. Finally he met Gertrude, the fifteen-year-old daughter of a divorced woman, whose moral standards were questioned in the neighborhood. An older sister was a fugitive and "immoral." No one knew the whereabouts of the girls' father.

Stephen's mother, who could not control him,

showed little anxiety over her son's conduct until he declared his intentions of marrying Gertrude, whose "social position" was so much lower than his own. The young couple eloped to a distant city: they did not marry. They had no money, both worked, Stephen for the first time in his life. He took sick. Gertrude nursed him. Finally, although there were warrants for arrest of both, they decided to return. The mother of the girl concealed them from the authorities, made no effort to separate them, and finally had them married. Stephen's mother at once started annulment proceedings.¹

Gertrude was with child. Stephen was fond of her and was working. His mother repeatedly said he "should be punished."

"I simply demand justice for my rights as a mother."

The court refused annulment, but Stephen was sent to an Industrial Reformatory, while the Juvenile Court cared for Gertrude in a maternity home. The Juvenile Court pointed out to both young people the constructive possibilities: Stephen need not feel bitterness; he could learn a useful trade. After his parole his wife and child would be waiting for him. To the girl hope and encouragement were given.

Both the mother of the girl and the mother of the boy now began to oppose this plan, to use every artifice, threat and command to separate the young people. Gertrude's mother "would not have her daughter married to a jail-bird." But these children of broken homes clung to the only security they

¹ Under the California Statute of 1922 a boy under twenty-one or girl under eighteen cannot marry without the consent of the parents, and such marriages contracted under age are subject to annulment.

knew: opposition made the affair stable. In thirteen months Stephen was paroled. The first month's rent of a cottage was paid for him. Now twenty-one, he re-married the girl. Gertrude and he, with the baby, for over a year have lived together in peace and industry.

Stephen's mother now says she took this course to train him: it was the "only way to give him a lesson," and some of the neighbors seeing his devotion to his home, agree with her. But Stephen does not see his mother; the estrangement, at present, is complete.

Another form conflict takes is the economic one. Some parents appear to think they have vested property right in their children and seek to coerce them when their rights are not yielding dividends. We are used to this requirement in cases of foreign parents, whose custom it may be to regard the family as an economic unit, but in certain American families it appears to have no other motive than selfishness.

A girl of seventeen was brought before court by the mother of a boy about the same age; both were accused of immorality. There was no evidence. The fact was that the young people were deeply in love, the boy, who earned a hundred and fifty dollars per month with a paper route and went to school, was beginning to spend more time with his sweetheart than with his mother. Many a mother would find cause for pain in this situation, but few would care to expose it in court. The element which rankled most was money. The boy had bought a second-hand Ford in which he took his girl out riding. They invited the mother, but she refused. They kept good hours, and apparently

there was nothing harmful in their relations. The boy paid his mother for his board and room, and was entirely self-supporting.

"But he has no right, no *right*," the mother kept repeating, "to that machine at all; it is *mine*; everything he has is mine."

Such parental attitudes permanently belittle the moral influence which a mother may hope to wield in behalf of a virile son; weak boys may give in, become intimidated or evade the issue by running away.

The desire and practice of *possession* is not limited to adults; boys may seek to dominate their mothers, and girls to control their fathers.

Betty was sixteen. She was the dominant spirit in an alliance with her father who gave all and received nothing. The mother was dead. Betty dressed elaborately, spent much money and became so delinquent with boys that it was thought best to remove her to another city. The father bought a new bungalow, comfortably furnished, placed his daughter in high school, yielded to her entreaties for a new car, neglected his business to safeguard her. Together they came to court to report:

"How is Betty doing?"

"Your Honor, she is obeying the rules of the court, but in order to have her do so I must lock up her clothes at night, and mine as well, or she will steal out doors."

Betty is so deeply bored that she represses yawning with difficulty:

"What is the real trouble, Betty? Are you not satisfied?"

"Oh, I simply *hate* this town! There is nothing to do."

"Did you ever try making your father happy?"

Betty looks astonished. She blurts out:

"Oh, him! Why he can't ever be happy now that mother is dead!"

This same Betty, though indifferent to her father, will not permit him to attend dances, or other social functions, is jealous of his friends, the reason in her cold little mind is:

"There is absolutely no use of father spending his money that way."

For girls like Betty a brief course of vigorous routine in a correctional school is the best treatment.

Over and above various types of conflict which occur in maladjusted family-life is one permanent source of difficulty: difference in feeling tone, the emotional attitude of age-groups. To youth the outstanding characteristic of age is its *hardness*, its inability "to understand." This is the judgment that one class always passes on another, but it is especially true of age-groups. Each group thinks the other cruel, heartless and unfeeling. Jack, gazing with rapture at his handful of magic beans for which he has sold the family cow, suffers depression when his mother weeps over the empty larder, in the famous tale of Jack and the Beanstalk. It is symbolic. Only rare spirits among children and adults grasp the fundamental truth: the emotional life of each has a different rhythm and tempo: youth may lack the attributes of steady warmth, of simplicity and continuity of feeling; maturity may lack spontaneity and perhaps must grope for ability to understand rapid fluctuations of mood.

If neither group has tolerance for the biological position of the other, there is suffering.

It is instructive to observe often with what exactness the young follow the life-histories of their parents who have despaired of ever seeing them amount to anything. Nothing is further from the conscious ambition of these young people than to take their parents as models, and the parents, if they have sense of humor or vision of race-progress, should not feel hurt. The children look on the wrinkles and sagging postures of adults, their acceptance of monotony in life; and if one were to place such a figure on a pedestal for youth to admire, the cry would be:

"Am I indeed to be like my father, or like my mother! Why, that is just the same as being a failure!"

Parents should realize that this attitude is normal, and when their children display it, or make polite attempts to conceal it, they are merely expressing that forward-looking tendency which is the hope of our race. In fact, if parents try to lessen the difference between themselves and their children, becoming more youthful, they themselves will profit. If adults become true companions of youth, learning new muscular skills, "taking up," swimming, fencing, dancing and new games; if they expose themselves to hardships of trips and adventures, if they seek to preserve openness of mind and flexibility of feeling, life will once more flow in them with its warmth and color. Too frequently they lose their golden opportunity.

John, a youth in college, dances too much: jazz, tennis, ridiculous trips to the roller-coaster, pranks, and crude *noise* seem unaccountably to give him pleasure. The scholarly father is annoyed at this frivolity, in which he sometimes joins, however,

for he has a conscientious idea that he must be a companion to his son. Fearing lest his son disappoint family tradition, he tactfully "exposes" him to more "worth while" activities, lectures, books, symphonies and good conversations, and since the father believes not in force, but in power of suggestion, timidly assails him with talk on pleasures of the scholarly life. John is either deaf or bored. The father suffers anxiety lest his son become a "Jazz-hound," "a cake-eater" and a "lounge lizard-daddy." In the meantime life has no other plan for John than turning him out as nearly as possible like his father. Suddenly the boy takes to reading philosophy. Enchanted, absorbed he wanders on the frontier of the "land of the uncleared fields," until plunging deeper, he recognizes with all the forces of his body and mind that this kingdom is his. No longer does he respond when girls call him up on the telephone; dancing and "stunts" have lost their thrill. Encasing his feet in slippers John sits far into the night pouring over Kant.

Now his father, viewing this transformation with delight, congratulating himself on the success with which he has "rescued" John, begins to grow a little wistful. Where is that gay young companion who had such scant mercy for his father, dragging him out on impossible trails, with no respect for wind or blood-pressure? Alas, he is gone, forever vanished, and the college professor, his father, has lost his own last chance to take the sag out of his abdomen or to learn any new tricks.

Youth has its genuine contribution to make to family life; youth is an asset as well as a problem.

Neither age-group can be healthy and virile without self-respect.

It is the fashion of our age, as in other ages of rapid change, to emphasize youth unduly. Boys and girls are made tremendously aware of their own importance; maturity is busy placating them or paying them homage, and in various subtle ways imitating them. This is not fair to youth. It suggests that parents are secretly bankrupt.

"Being a child must not hinder becoming a man. Becoming a man must not hinder being a child."¹

When each stage of life is lived in health, life is complete and there is no need for maturity to become wistful or to run out of spiritual capital.

In Juvenile Court many young people fail because their parents have lost faith in themselves. In the true "democratic" family, the family where biological requirements of each member are understood, there is neither delinquency nor conflict. There is balance, an interaction of forces, a "peace between equals."

The child, during growth deserves to be nested securely; he should not know anxiety caused by strife, disharmony or unsatisfied longings of either parent. His parents should be genuinely interested in family-life, throughout infancy, childhood and youth, the child should have the same two love-united parents. Fathers who lose initiative in family affairs, or become too timid, or too tyrannical; mothers who wish to domineer, or to evade family life, mothers whose desire is not to nourish life and feeling in children, but to absorb it,—tend to produce children who fill our courts and hospitals.

Within the adequate home there should be tolerance, flexibility and scope for new departures. Life

¹ Schleiermacher.

should be viewed as perpetual conflict; a spiritual and biological venture that deserves our utmost. Child and adult go together up the same trail. One departs a little sooner than the other. There should not be strife between them.

CHAPTER III

CONFLICT IN THE SCHOOL

THE relation between Juvenile Court and school is reciprocal; if the court must return troublesome boys and girls to school, it is school which is responsible for production of many delinquents.

The child enters school as its third or fourth social group, usually about the sixth year.¹ As with the family, the social worker should have a clear, simple view of the social task of the school. This is two-sided; first to give instruction, to furnish tools for intellectual progress, to supply certain facts and motor abilities deemed important in modern life; second, it must develop emotional attitudes in the child that tend to make it socially minded, as we say, prepare for life, make a good citizen. The educated person must be able to live in a group without offense, do good team-work and feel rightly toward other human beings. That is to say, school must furnish instruction and serve as a laboratory for training in social relationships. This task the school consciously recognizes, it has no quarrel with its rôle; camps among educators present not so much conflict in aim as disputes how best to attain it.

¹ In the order in which the child meets the social groups they are: Family, neighborhood (merely a collection of other families) church, school, industrial work group, play group, and the service or professional group. Eduard Lindeman, "The Community," pp. 26 to 39. Association Press, 1921.

The social worker cannot presume to criticize the school or offer advice on educational controversies. He has neither knowledge nor skill to be of assistance in making or administering the curriculum. His profession brings him in contact with the waste, the discarded, rejected, or unwilling among the school population. These come to the social worker's work-shop relate school casualties in courts, clinics and hospitals, and the social worker looks them over with an eye to their reconstructive possibilities.

Clearly if terrific damages have been inflicted on children in process of getting them educated, the social worker would like to arrive at a better understanding with the school.

As we have seen in the last chapter, the child enters school with certain past social experiences in mind. He enters with a fixed emotional attitude compounded of success and failures at home. In school he encounters another circle of adults and children, each capable of being a source of comfort or anxiety. School is to him another arena where he wins or loses approval of other human beings, thus adding to self-esteem and enriching personality, or deepening sense of guilt and inferiority. To the school he carries his ready-made rebellion, submission, fear of failure, dependence or self-reliance. These new adults, the teachers, are simply other parents, rewarding, blaming, petting, loving, or criticizing according to their own mysterious standards of action. The child reacts to teachers in ways already conditioned by the home. Unless the teacher has developed genuine insight into problems of personality, including her own, she is more than likely to fix in the child some undesirable, destruc-

tive emotional attitude, and this far more through what she is, what she does, than what she teaches.

The major practical problems of school in relation to Juvenile Court are truancy, anti-social conduct, malicious mischief, theft, matters of dress, fashion, and sex-morality.

Truancy may be a misplaced virtue. It may occur in obedience to a selfish, distrustful, lazy or avaricious parent.¹ It may be a biological protest against bad air, physical defects, or healthy criticism of a course of study hopelessly dull, heavy, mechanical and uninteresting. Frequently it is an attempt to evade responsibility, to escape meeting an issue; again it is a mode of self-expression, or of taking revenge.

The manner in which the first serious truancy is handled may decide the fate of the child as to whether or not it will enter upon a career of delinquency.

This matter is so serious that special bureaus should at once be created within the school to give expert study and socialized treatment to truants. No doubt Departments of Compulsory Education are constructed with this thought in mind. Often, however, irreparable damage by teachers, police, "hooky-cops" is done before the child reaches workers of this department, the workers themselves may be handicapped by ignorance, bad training, poor administration, or too many cases. Often the whole department is wrongfully conceived and animated by a penal point of view, rather than knowl-

¹ Some parents order their children to stay at home to keep younger children, do work, etc. This occurs among foreign parents, but is by no means limited to them. See Russian case, p. 11. The best remedy is to fine parents for child's non-attendance. Child need not appear in court at all.

edge that truancy in young children is often the first danger signal of maladjustment requiring sympathetic understanding and wisdom.

In some city school systems, if a boy absents himself from school, a warrant is issued for his arrest; he is treated like a criminal. Again he may be roughly handled by the attendance officer, turned out of his school by the principal to be sent to a "Special School" or Parental Class where, without further investigation, some hardy young teacher, intellectually and socially not far advanced beyond the delinquent, herds him with "bad boys" and young "rough-necks" and ignorantly administers "swats" with a paddle to make him manly, and baseball to make him "a regular guy" without slightest reference to the needs of childhood.¹ The boy may be placed in such a school at eight years of age, and there spend the remainder of his school life. Educational reform may sweep the general school system, the curriculum may become rich and plastic, but these "parental" schools will be administered on theory of punishment, not education. At best the boy forms permanent associations with gangs of "young toughs," almost illiterate, at worst he is maimed physically and mentally.

In six hundred and twenty cases of truancy in boys brought in 1923 to Juvenile Hall, the Los Angeles County Detention Home for the Juvenile Court, there were only sixty who were not in need of medical attention.

Physically retarded or diseased children tend, it

¹ Reference here is to the widespread practice of maintaining discipline classes, or "parental schools," under the Board of Education, for the correction of truancy and other delinquencies.

is evident, to fall behind in classes. They become discouraged and try to cast off the burden of fear of failure by not competing at all; in short by running away. This is not the usual view of truancy; in the popular mind it is the healthy, freckle-faced, barefoot boy who "plays hooky."

"Theories have too much vitality to be stoned to death by facts," wrote one of the shrewdest of American economists,¹ and this is doubly true of a theory which expresses every one's boyhood wishes and is enshrined on covers of popular magazines; but alas! the habitual truant is not a care-free boy with an overflow of physical vitality; he is shown, by actual study, to be under more than the usual number of physical handicaps. For this reason, if for no other, there is need for caution in dealing with the problem of truancy. When one adds to the physical problem, mental retardation, poor housing, inadequate feeding, disordered home life which constantly occur in truancy, it is evident that the entire matter is too complex to be handled carelessly by one individual teacher, or attendance officer.

A permanent conference, clinic-group, or bureau has been suggested as meeting the problem. This could be composed of a social worker or visiting teacher,² physician, psychologist, an educational expert, and the child's own teacher, and principal. Their examination of the child should be thorough from every point of view, pending their recommendation the child should be sheltered from harshness,

¹ Simon Nelson Patten.

² See Publications of the Commonwealth Fund, 1 East 57th Street, New York City. This work is entirely new and the most hopeful sign of socialization in the schools our country has seen.

or trace of criminal procedure. When recommendation is ready, it should be submitted to a properly appointed authority, or group, representing the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools. Only then, after due deliberation, should there be power to act, the plan carried out should be based on the welfare of the child. Prolonged social treatment of child, school and home will be the only adequate means to solve the problem of truancy. This course would reduce by hundreds the number of children now coming before the courts.¹

Ernesto was a boy of twelve years, one and one-half years retarded in school, an average-normal in intelligence. A huge attendance officer brought him to Detention Home with the request that he be given a "good scare" for "playing hooky." No effort was made to give him a "scare" in the Detention Home, but as he was a pale, nervous fellow, he suffered depression. The attendance officer placed him in a "special class" before physical examination was possible. A few weeks later the boy was brought before Juvenile Court for truancy, coupled with attempt to set fire to the school house. There was no evidence of arson, but he was found loitering around the school grounds when an older boy started a fire. The boy now received routine medical examination. He was found to be twenty pounds under-weight, had enlarged tonsils, adenoids, weak eyes, bad heart, and the first stages of pulmonary tuberculosis. He was emotionally dejected, laboring under sense of failure. There was

¹ See Dr. Thomas Eliot's recent study. Published in Proceedings of National Probation Assoc., meeting held at Washington, May, 1923.

no intellectual reason why he could not have succeeded in school. His physical wants were now attended to. It was impossible for the court not to raise the question on observing his shrunken figure, and despairing eyes, whether if this boy had succeeded in burning the school house he, or the adult community, had committed the greater damage.

Frank, a boy of thirteen, came of Italian parents, perpetually quarreling. His father was an artist in clay models, his mother an invalid. Frank's solace was in books. He enjoyed his school, and was up to grade. His intelligence was superior-normal. He was transferred to a new school where, as he afterwards asserted:—

"It was bad; the kids were all numskulls, and the teacher had no learning."¹

He played truant for several days, sleeping out in the fields along the river district. For this offense he was sent to a special class for truants where the course of study was restricted. Truancy became habitual. He was morose and sullen. He began to steal in order to buy food which enabled him to stay away. He lived the predatory life.

When confined in the Detention Home he demanded books of Stevenson, Twain and Defoe and Scott. His teacher appeared against him in court.

"What is the *cause* of Frank's truancy?" asked the Court.

"He has absolutely no brains. It would be necessary to bore a hole in his skull and pour the brains in," responded the educator facetiously.

¹ This brilliant boy is typical of cases in the foreign district where certain children have marked intellectual ability and others are seriously defective. The teacher is forced to attend to the needs of the mass.

"Frank, have you complaint to make of your school?"

"Gee! I'd rather die than go to that school. Why, the teacher never corrects your papers. I wrote a composition and he just crumpled it up and put it in the waste-basket," said Frank.

This child was transferred by request of court to a socialized neighborhood school. He graduated with distinction. The most difficult thing to overcome was his sense of hostility, bravado, hardness and "toughness." Truancy was over just as soon as he was given the proper amount of mental nourishment.

In searching for causes of maladjustment in school, it should be understood that it is trifles which make children happy or unhappy. These trifles are so easily overlooked that only persons with genuine insight into child-life can discover their existence and true rôle. Usually trifles are not slight or fortuitous sources of irritation, but they pierce back to some sensitive tap-root of feeling that arouses the entire personality to pain.¹ They touch off a complex situation, often imbedded in the family drama. The child is defenseless against this attack and responds in the only way it knows; by tantrums, running away, or other emotional release.

Eleanor was the daughter of a retired surgeon, and a distinguished mother. For the fourteen years of her life she had known two outstanding kinds of misery: poverty, and the endless

¹ See Skeat, W. W.: "Etymological Dictionary of the English Language." Trifle: Middle English; a mockery, raillery; ■ little jest. This ancient derivation of our word "trifle" is highly significant. The child literally often feels "mocked" by it.

dwelling on the greatness of the family tradition as compared with its present shrunken estate. The father, no longer able to wield the knife, used his tongue. He jeered at fate, his wife and children. Eleanor was a frail, blonde girl with good native ability, and a persistent capacity for suffering. She passed through the usual grades in school and was finally promoted to a cooking class. She was interested in this. One day her teacher said:

"You must not wear a dark apron to this class. All the girls must wear white aprons."

Eleanor said nothing, but appeared day after day in her dark blue apron. The teacher, interpreting this as rebellion, or indifference, ordered Eleanor to appear in the required apron or to report to the principal. Eleanor disappeared. Several days later she was found hiding under a porch, half starved, cold and in a kind of stubborn panic. She refused to give her name and was taken to the Detention Home. With great difficulty the court obtained her story: she was afraid to ask at home for the white apron, and thus expose herself to mocking complaints of her father, and she was afraid to return to school.

For six years the court has been dealing with Eleanor. Her suspicious temperament, her tendency to evade responsibility, her shrinking from criticism, have involved her in a career of delinquency, the seeds of which were undoubtedly present in her home life. Had the school been sensitive to her needs or on the watch for those *trifles* which had power to wound her self-esteem at its most vital spot, Eleanor would have found relief, rather than accentuation of her fear of failure

which sapped her energy and resulted in her abandonment to the easy life of the streets.

Doubtless the matter is more complex. The delinquent career is composed of innumerable factors, physical, mental, emotional, social, of which the school episode is but one. As case-studies are evolved this complexity is emphasized, most of hitherto relied on causes and explanations go overboard. To explain Eleanor's conduct, whose forebears had no careers of delinquency or insanity, and whose own mental equipment was adequate for a successful journey through life, one must turn to those factors which appear to lie beneath motive and which furnish driving power in a crisis.

The school is not responsible for the emotional attitudes with which pupils enter, but the school should frankly realize that success, or failure, will be determined, not by intelligence of students, nor by richness of course of study, but in the degree of skill with which it develops the emotional life of children. In each student crisis arise, seemingly without adequate basis, the every day matters of the first school success, or failure, first punishment, humiliation, reward, criticism, ridicule, undetected cheating, or unmerited approval will serve as the core around which a cluster of emotional habits will cling.

Nothing taught in the curriculum of ethics, sociology, civics, town-planning, one's duty to neighbors will have power of itself to alter the set of this fundamental attitude. Enforced participation in student activities, such as self-government or merit-systems, will not change the nature of emotional life which determines the kind of response

the individual will make to socialized life in the community.

Response, depending as it does on personality, can be schooled only in an atmosphere created by understanding in socially mature adults. Sarcasm, impatience, egotism, bad temper, favoritism, stupidity, indifference to suffering of others, lack of love for children, are serious faults in parents, but doubly in teachers, to whom the state has entrusted the duty of correcting defects of home-life, and who have the whole business of education in hand. The school in a true deep sense develops, or mars, the personality of the child, largely through indirect channels, and extra-curricular activities, the subtle personal and social relationships the child establishes with teachers and children.

We need not specify which kind of personality is best in teachers. Stern teachers, serious, industrious, just, exacting, difficult to please, may be of value to students whose home-life is all bluff; "easy-go-lucky" carefree young teachers may be precisely the antidote to the child whose anxious, scrupulous parents have given him a bad case of nerves; to a strong child rebuff may be wholesome. Some act of indifference, even cruelty may stimulate the opposition necessary to success. Henri Wolf, who founded the first teachers' seminary, thereby introducing the principle of group-discussion in pedagogy, said he conceived the idea as a young student after suffering from indifference of his professors, and their inability to understand his difficulties. Here conflict was stimulating.

Teachers may be old or young, of any temperament, the more variety the better, because the child should have rich experience in personalities, but

there are certain essentials of personality which every teacher should possess. There should be insight into nature of the emotions.¹

The teacher should have ability to detect early signs of emotional maladjustment in children, should feel respect for complexities of personality, above all should understand *why* force in dealing with emotional disorders is blind, stupid, useless and often cruel and dangerous. The teacher herself should have made adequate adjustment to life, should not look to children to supply her with opportunities for outlet to anger, fear, wish to dominate, or to be dominated. She should not use affections of children to gratify her need of love and approval; her own adult human relationships should be established satisfactorily.² The most important personality attribute of the successful teacher is ability to create and foster a sense of vitality and enthusiasm for life. In this sense her attitude should be parental, that is to say, in the interests of health and virility.

Truancy from such a teacher would be rather unlikely.

Anti-social conduct in school, such as malicious mischief, breaking into and entering school, smashing furniture, creating muss and litter, stealing, should be handled by the school itself. There is growing tendency for the school to recognize responsibility. It is not necessary for the school to

¹ Every teacher should be familiar with the studies of Watson, Kempf, White and Adolf Meyer, and should be a member of the local Mental Hygiene Organization or of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

² See Dr. Jessie Taft: "Mental Hygiene of School Life," May, 1923, Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work.

invoke authority of Juvenile Court unless custody of the child is in question. Infractions against peace and integrity of school life yield readily to social treatment, that is to say, if closer coöperation of home, school and neighborhood is brought about by a social worker employed by the school.¹

If the school deals with its behavior problems, it should deal with them understandingly, in light of best Juvenile Court procedure. The average teacher has an archaic view of Juvenile Court. She thinks it exists to punish children. She is surprised or displeased when this does not take place. The Juvenile Court uses discipline, of course, but treatment is based on a constructive plan arrived at by conference of Judge, probation officer, physician and psychologist.

Peter was described as a greedy, malicious boy who stole lunches, and when punished threw stones in basement windows. The teacher thought Peter should be punished in Detention Home by loss of meals and was annoyed when this eight-year-old Italian, whose mother was dead and whose father had attended so carelessly to his wants that he was anemic and underweight, was fed the customary chicken dinner on Christmas.

The school can handle delinquency problems only by applying scientific method and a spirit of constructive mental hygiene.

A group of girls in an opportunity school for court wards were discussing the idea whether they would like to see the school take over the work of Juvenile Court:

¹ Such as the visiting teacher, but this person must be a thoroughly trained and experienced case-worker if results are to be satisfactory.

"Why, whoever thought of such an idea," exclaimed the President of the Student Body. "No one ever heard of a school teacher who had more than *one view* of anything."

This girl herself was an illustration of bad procedure within the school group. She was an adopted child, of aged foster parents; her father was devoted to her, but her mother was devoted to making street comedies for moving pictures. Somehow X—— became out of joint. She stole in school. Accused by her teacher, publicly humiliated, disgraced and unwelcome at home, she fled and was missing for several days. Again placed in school, she stole and was unwisely treated. Not the slightest attempt was made to find out *why* she stole. Examination in court (after the school had "branded her a 'thief' ") showed an intelligent, eager, ambitious young person, in a fever of anxiety about a simple matter, which an elementary lesson in sex-hygiene would have relieved. X—— was placed in the opportunity school, where she has been successful and happy for over a year, and where she won herself a place of esteem in public high school.

Endless will be mistakes of school if it tries to safeguard morals of its students, without insight.

Elva, aged thirteen, had been "boarded out" by her father. She stole a pink silk undershirt from the woman in charge of her, who complained to the school. An impromptu "trial" was held in the principal's office; the girl, with scant regard for rules of evidence, was declared guilty. As the child stubbornly denied her "guilt" she was punished. How could the principal guess that Elva's mother, who had been an inmate of a state reformatory, had committed suicide, and at her boarding home

the "foster-mother" taunted Elva with insinuations so that the child (outwardly a healthy, rosy, snub-nosed little girl) developed a feeling of guilt and inferiority which had weakened her power to study, and finally caused moral collapse.

If the school sometimes mishandles its delinquency cases, there are compensating, glorious exceptions. It all depends on attitude of mind toward delinquency, and training, skill and good-will of the teacher.

May was a tall, thin girl, a sickly orphan who had been brought up in the home of a conscientious woman, mother of a girl about May's age. May suffered jealousy. One day the clothing of the daughter of the home was found slashed and snipped into pieces. May denied doing it. She was locked in a room and fed bread and milk (which she refused) until the woman finally, to avoid scandal, took May to court. May was resolute in denial. The court explained that at present it was not necessary to discover the mystery of slashed clothes; the important thing was the shocking mental and physical state into which the child had worked herself. After examination and physical restoration, May was placed in a home where she attended a small high school; the principal was asked to co-operate in reconstruction of May. Years of effort by this socially minded woman are now being rewarded. May took a purse from school within a few weeks of admission. No attempt by the principal was made to "prove" this, or to compel a painful "confession." May was told the probabilities pointed to her; if she wished she could make restitution. It was explained to her that stealing is a grave symptom of inner trouble, all her friends

were now trying to help her and pending the "cure" it would be best for her to work out of school hours to repay incidental losses. She need not "confess" in words, no force would be used to make her pay if she felt innocent. Three times in two years May yielded to impulse to steal small articles, each time she made restitution. For over a year there has been no stealing; delinquency with boys broke out recently. The court offered to remove the troublesome girl from high school.

"No," said the principal. "This girl is making steady progress in school. Her attitude is not rebellious, it is that of one appealing for help. This is our job, unless we fail, or the girl begins to injure others, we are going to keep May in school."

May is about to graduate, after four years' intelligent supervision in this high school.

The group of children whose behavior problems cause the most serious concern in school are not, as is usually supposed abnormal, or super-normal, but the dull, average or dull-normal group.¹

These children have difficulty with lessons, they do not ordinarily receive much individual attention from teachers unless they misbehave, they readily compensate for intellectual mediocrity by "starting something." Lacking in special abilities, possessing few signs of appealing helplessness, they appear on the face of it, what they are, in reality, dull. It is hard for the teacher to take interest in them, yet personal interest is vitally necessary for their growth. If the social aim of school is remembered

¹ Those with intelligence quotients of 80 to 90 per cent. See Elizabeth Woods, Ph.D., "What Every Teacher Should Know About Every Child." Also, "The Slow Learning Child," Proc. National Conference of Social Work, 1923, Washington, D. C.

these children will not be permitted to become discouraged or crushed by failure; they will be set upon tasks within their powers.

It is increasingly being recognized that competition is a poor instrument in a school room. Pressure of competition has caused untold, unproductive suffering among children, and has contributed to delinquency. Such suffering is unproductive because it harms the loser, and cannot make him any brighter, it injures the winner by making him conceited. The modern progressive school sets the child a task which uses all his ability, the exercise of which is its own reward. Invidious comparisons between dull and bright pupils are not permitted. The dull child, then, has no motive to have recourse to violent, anti-social means of gaining attention.

Dr. Elizabeth Woods is of the opinion that much of the flow of obscene literature in high schools is caused by setting "dull" disqualified boys and girls to tasks beyond their intellectual preparation, constantly fearful of failure and damage to prestige, they circulate a ware¹ which has more value because it is forbidden, and in possession of which they gain distinction.

One high school principal asserts that if one looks for obscene literature one or two months after entry of the freshman class, and deals with it patiently in non-emphatic ways, by personal education of the offender, that particular class will be free for the remainder of the four years, and there will be little difficulty with lapses of morality.

¹ It is recognized, of course, that the production of obscene literature by adults for profit from sales to children is often the true source of this evil. See Reports: Jessie Binford: Supt. Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago.

In treating this situation as in all others of the school, a vigorous enlightened policy of adjusting individuals to their educational requirements and possibilities will accomplish apparent miracles.

It is a matter for comment that greatly loved teachers rarely have anything stolen from them, there are entire schools where thieving¹ is almost unknown, so great is the respect of children for the good name of the school. In these schools there is always a more or less expressed policy in feeling-tone, the air of friendliness,—“one for all, all for one.” In such schools respect for property may be punctilious.

If teachers possess a morally invigorating and confidence-inspiring personality, they will create this atmosphere in their schools without affectation. It cannot, of course, be forced. The teacher who brought Mary to court to complain of willful incorrigibility, insolence, laziness and menacing influence on other children, could offer no overt act as proof. Finally bursting into tears, the teacher sobbed:

“Well, I have *always* known that Mary does not love me.”

Much as the court recognized the gravity of this situation, conditioning as it did the whole question of Mary's success, or failure, in school,—the court could suggest no remedy, any more than it could effect by court order the bursting forth of green shoots from the bulbs growing in their crystal bowl on the table. Yet this teacher believed Mary's af-

¹ In the writer's experience chiefly these are found in “poor” neighborhoods where the school is the product of special neighborliness and idealism: such for example as the Macy School of Los Angeles.

fection, her vested right, and thought she should be punished for withholding it.

Often the teacher with creative personality finds something in the "dull average" pupils which causes them to shoot ahead.

A dreaming boy of eleven failed so repeatedly in his arithmetic that he was promoted . . . in order that his teacher might be rid of him. The new teacher noticed his drooped head and stammering tongue, his really remarkable ability to commit all mathematical errors possible, and she tried to draw him out. The boy had discovered that words made a fool of him, so he was silent. After several weeks of security, for the new teacher let him alone, he was asked:

"What is it you think about most when we are doing arithmetic?"

"I was figuring out how thin it could be."

"Yes," said the teacher quietly in a moment of rare insight, "what would you do with it?"

"Why, the fish could live there," said the boy. It was discovered that this boy was a shy naturalist, devoted to life-interests of finny and crawling creatures. He was absorbed in the mental building of an aquarium. In a few months he was on his feet, with chalk and pointer, demonstrating not only arithmetic, but properties of fluids and solids to the class.

In the retarded, dull child the school must recognize possibility of mental conflict and anxiety as a cause. Could one know the burden of unuttered grief of these children, masked by ordinary "sluggish" faces, and seemingly healthy bodies, one might pause before inflicting ridicule, or force, upon

them. Their attention is often absorbed by the home-situation. It is no exaggeration to say that unwanted children are sometimes subjected to miseries, jealousies, adult misfits and mismatings as strenuous as those of the tragic dramas we teach our college students. Could one expect some miniature Hamlet, brooding over knowledge of his mother's infidelity, to be alert on the subject of fractions, or would young Œdipus be absorbed in such a story as the "Rape of the Lock"? These so-called dramatic themes of family life are of every-day occurrence in lives of children who become delinquent, all the more to be wisely, sympathetically dealt with because they have no glamor of mystery, but are staged in the apartment house or on a subdivided city lot.

Before "dullness" is made as a diagnosis, probability of an absorbing inner emotional conflict should be ruled out.

Nowadays the school must concern itself with problems of dress and fashion. This matter is usually supposed to be connected with the problem of morality.

The social worker objects to "flashiness" of dress in students, use of rouge, expensive materials, "extreme" styles, not so much because these tend to premature sex-attraction, for it is true that whatever the prevailing fashions, boys and girls become accustomed to them, and are not so prone to seduction from causes that excite their elders, as that these styles emphasize class-distinction and ape, for the most part, the parasitic class. Moving picture actresses and spenders of alimony are not the best models for girls; the "town sheik" or matinée idol's

bell trousers and eyebrow paint seem out of place on a high-school boy. It is a matter of taste as much as of morals.

Personal criticism is a poor way to bring change in fashion. When school and home coöperate in arousing the feeling that it is bad taste to dress like the parasitic class, the young people are usually content to dress in a manner more becoming to youth. If parents secretly, or openly, admire extravagance, and if young teachers imitate frivolous and unesthetic modes of dress, the difficulty is strengthened.

Since clothes express personality and life-goals, as the personalities become at school enriched and enlarged, and life-goals of school tend to become vigorous, modes of dress will be more individual and less contaminated by foibles of the street.

Often the appearance of a girl in the extreme of style, although she is cheaply and shabbily clothed and poorly washed, is the danger signal to an alert teacher. The girl's attention is no longer on affairs within the school-group, but she is having her head turned by predatory males, or she may herself have turned adventurer. Myerson, who for two years examined mentally girls listed as sex-offenders by social agencies of Boston, found that: "the girl usually 'picked up' dressed immodestly or in the extreme of style."¹

The girl or boy who is well-adjusted in school life, full of enthusiasm for school activities, will not readily suffer attention to be drained off in direction of flapping ear-rings, startling modes of wearing hair, or arduous slavery of "make-up"

¹ Abraham Myerson, M.D.: "The Foundations of Personality," Little, Brown, and Co., 1921, p. 303.

complexion. It is a matter of balance. Doubtless style has its rôle to play in emancipation of young people, but for the sake of sincerity and productive work of school life, the "lure" of cheap, gaudy, parasitic fashion should be combated by the entire school group.

It is to be regretted that choice now, in some city high schools, seems to rest largely between fashions set by movie-queens, or army and navy.

The problem of sex-morality in high school has been sketched in another chapter. It is a serious matter to mingle youth of both sexes during adolescence with no adequate sex-instruction available either in home or school. In many places this lack is being met by schools themselves.

Lapses which occur for the most part are caused by ignorance or lack of clear ideas and standards. Such offenders are benefited enormously by simple, understanding treatment, promptly administered. From the social worker's point of view, doors of the school should not be closed to erring boys and girls after they have been placed under guidance. Guidance must come from a source expert in adolescent difficulties; girls should be under supervision of a wise woman counselor; boys under a man physician, teacher or other male of absolute clarity and integrity. It must be remembered that hypocrisy is resented bitterly, and can never be concealed from young people. Equally resented is the cold "unfeeling" type of supervision and criticism that youth with insight fears or holds in contempt, for it is based either on shallowness or something more abnormal.

No matter what the offense has been, unless there is danger of physical infection, or it has been the

decision of court to remove the young person from the community should he or she be excluded from school. The expelled student is a hero. The schools, for their own protection, should receive the offender and reëducate him.

The school is to-day showing reanimation and a quickened sense of its responsibility toward young persons in conflict. Self-government programs, use of the project method, enriched courses of study, more attention paid to diagnosis of individual differences, greater flexibility in discipline, vastly more heed given to beauty, to arts, literature, music and natural science, an increasing respect for personality, more cautious approach in matters of truancy, backwardness, dullness and anti-social behavior, more reading and more genuine living on the part of teachers, above all, more life, more adventure and color are transforming the schools into true social groups instead of barracks of military discipline, and factories for the mechanical molding of "raw" flesh and blood. Within the true social group any conflict that takes place between child and adult will be stimulating to each.

CHAPTER IV

CONFLICT IN INDUSTRY

THE purpose of this chapter is to indicate some of the difficulties which modern youth must meet in adapting its life to demands of our present industrial civilization. The term industry is here loosely used to mean economic activities run for profit. Modern industry has drafted young people to its service in a variety of ways, in numbers hitherto unheard of. It is inevitable that the life-cravings and claims of youth, which generally speaking represent the biological necessities of the race, should be in conflict with industry which represents goals of a certain class. To-day problems of youth have so much to do with problems of our economic civilization that to solve the ills of one is largely to solve the ills of both. Industry challenges attention of the social worker who deals with youth because it has placed a premium, it appears, on the mere fact of the possession of youth. Entire families are now being supported on earnings of the most youthful member.

A boy, nineteen years of age, was lounging in a transcontinental Pullman, en route to California to rest his nerves. A year before he had been a charming, intelligent boy in his first year in college. Now, clad in "the latest thing," exhausted, with most of his interest in life spent, he "had seen it all," and had arrived at the conclusion of the writer of Ecclesiastes. He "did" a comic strip every other day

for a metropolitan newspaper and was paid more than the president of his college. His father, a surgeon, did not "earn" so much as this boy, whose "talent" had promptly placed the young "artist" under a three-year contract. From his point of view he had arrived; there was no need for further study, or exertion.

This boy is typical of the exaggerated rôle youth is called upon to play in industry. In moving pictures hundreds of little children support adults who busy themselves in courts, quarreling over their guardianship. The curls, smiles, lisps and "cuteness" of childhood have now a money value which runs into thousands of dollars. The effect of theatrical life upon "child actors" is well known to be thoroughly demoralizing, yet in one city alone in two years over five thousand permits have been issued to children of school age to play in the movies.

Not only on the stage is a premium placed on youth, but this tendency is seen throughout the field of production. It has been repeatedly pointed out by experts that what are required to-day in our factories are speed and endurance of young people; not the skill and accuracy of maturity. As a class the younger the worker the more pay he receives. His earning capacity is at its maximum in youth and declines at maturity. If a father of forty-five and two sons of twenty and eighteen are working in a factory, the sons may receive more than twice as much as the father. This reverses the authoritative position at home. Youth's day is soon over, however; with too much money to spend, and an over-tax on speed and endurance, his physical energies begin to slow down and he is supplanted. The

thing which is demanded of boys and girls is both too much and too little; too much exploitation of nervous force, too little use of creativeness and sense of responsibility.

In this chapter we will consider problems which arise in relation to delinquency with boys and girls actually working; problems of industrial enterprises which derive profit from gratification of pleasure-cravings of youth, and finally certain disasters which befall the child, as consumer.

Work for children is an unsolved problem of our civilization. The hand crafts and cookery of home are diminished, or vanished. Children should work harder than they do to-day, just as they should play harder. They crave activity to the limit of endurance.¹

When, however, they are permitted to work in modern industry without legislative safeguards, they are mercilessly exploited, and a crop of physical defects, mental backwardness and moral evils is reaped by the community.²

Doubtless the entire matter will have to be tackled vigorously by boards of education who will assume burden of responsibility of supplying work for boys and girls, and supervising them.³

A beginning has been made, kind of work done, working conditions, matters of hours and safeguards are now being scrutinized by educational authorities with a view to establishing vocational guidance.

¹ Cleveland Survey: Dr. Henry Thurston, "Use of Leisure Time."

² See Child Labor Studies of the Consumer's League and of the Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

³ See Publications of U. S. Department of Labor, Junior Employment Division, Washington, D. C.

Industry, by itself, seems unable to take the child's welfare as a goal. It permits children to be sacrificed needlessly, and probably in the long run without profit to industry, on the theory of individual and parental rights to work.

For example, no informed person is ignorant of the lasting damage done small boys and girls in street trades, particularly selling newspapers. Irregular hours, freedom from parental oversight, exposure to moral evils, are recognized as self-evident. Gangs of boys from six to fourteen years of age spend nights away from home, sleeping in alleys, or on roofs of office buildings, making just enough to buy "eats" in restaurants, and to attend shows, while legislation seems powerless to help because the spirit of modern industry is not antagonistic to the sight of its young children handling its journalistic wares of filth, murder, scandal, cheap adventure and advertisements. The irony of this situation is tersely expressed by a decision of the Supreme Court: when child welfare organizations tried to have boys stop selling newspapers, the court said: these boys were not child-laborers, rather they were "independent merchants"!

Sam was an "independent merchant." He was ten. He rarely slept at home. He was literally half-starved because he ate only what pleased him, soda pop, and "hot dogs with mustard." For six months he wandered in and out of cheap hotels, sometimes paying for a room he shared with tramps, sometimes sleeping in an automobile so that he could be on hand when the newspaper was printed. Sam knew every crime, every perversion, by name with detail. The only tears he shed were drawn from him when the last of the illusions of his youth was destroyed,

—an illusion about another phase of industry: baseball. He was waiting for the latest edition of the "Baseball" graft scandals:

"Oh, gee!" he cried to one of the older boys who "had the dope," "it ain't true, is it? It can't be crooked? Oh, gee! It ain't true?"

Sam is a chronic liar, thief and runaway. His attitude toward prostitution, vice, graft and crime is fixed, permanently anti-social. His childhood, youth and manhood have been squandered to the fifth leading industry of America.

The man of the street smiles contemptuously at the idea of newspaper selling harming any healthy boy. The fact is that newspaper selling is one of the largest contributing causes to delinquency among city boys, and for the sake of producing half a dozen exceptions who rise from newsboy to publisher, it is a chance too remote to take in behalf of handicapped boys.

The kind of work done by boys and girls who are under care of courts and social agencies is a matter of greatest importance. Research as to the effect of the work record of delinquent children has yet to be undertaken, that is to say, no exhaustive study has been made.

Experience has pointed some dangerous occupations. Domestic service for girls is always to be regarded with caution. "Servant" girls have long hours, monotonous routine, restricted opportunities for harmless social life, few companions their own age, and insufficient protection from domestic conflicts in homes where they labor. The "hired girl" is not part of the family circle, but she is the spectator of intimacies and subterfuges of modern family life. She must "take sides," if silently, between

husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters. The family "cloak" is to her no secret and no shelter, she dwells close to the seamy side. She becomes discouraged, and prematurely callous and disillusioned as to home life. In surveys of occupations of girls and women in correctional schools, the greatest number have been found to be in domestic service. This is partly due to the fact that home service draws its recruits largely from ranks of backward, unskilled members of broken families, but it cannot be denied that the servant "class" is habitually exposed to seduction and lack of proper safeguards. The foster-home for young girls, carefully supervised, chosen in light of child-placement principles, where genuine mothering is given, is not to be compared with mere "working out." But the foster-home is a place of unselfishness, where the girl is received as a young ward of the home. It is a profession and an art absent in many communities. Such foster-homes produce occasionally excellent results, but their number, in comparison to the industrial demand for domestic service is slight.¹

Cruel as is physical waste of youth in textile industries, mills, foundries, factories, canneries, fruit, cotton and beet fields and the like, the writer is of opinion that boys and girls suffer less permanent damage to character in industries which are productive, that is to say, where they can deal with processes of production, than in "service" industries such as "soda jerks," messenger, telephone operator,

¹ For an example of the pride taken in young children in socialized foster-homes, under modern supervision, see *The Home Finder*, edited by Lucile Lazaar, 141 West 126th Street, New York City.

theater-ushering, beauty shop attendants, dance-hall instructors, waitresses, sales-ladies, chamber-maids, bell-boys, and "entertainers." In these latter pursuits it is mainly youth, beauty, charm and vivacity which sells their service. There is a perpetual demand on their power to please, soothe, flatter and interest tired adults. A dash of high spirits and "kidding" must be administered to the patron of the article, or service purchased. To the normal, well-balanced youth, this experience with whims and self-loves of grown people gives life zest; they become excellent readers of personality, it is indeed an astute traveling-salesman who can "put anything over on them."

These sleek-haired, groomed, well-dressed young personal service "experts" with ready smiles, quick wit and genuine worldly wisdom, enliven the landscape in many a small town and a great one.

It is upon the girl and boy handicapped by background of delinquency, unstable, yearning, eager, inexperienced that the shafts of "kidding," flattery and other specious attentions fall more disastrously than do industrial accidents, or slow wear and tear of mill and factory.

One rule of adult conduct could be applied which would take the sting out of service occupations, and the moral dangers of office and store work as well: the rule of chivalry toward youth. Physical helplessness of infancy is almost everywhere regarded with solicitude in modern life. Babies and kittens are usually safe, even in traffic. This attitude has been cultivated, because of its necessity for race preservation. The same sense of the helplessness of adolescence to resist adult seduction should be evolved and fostered. Business executives should

start the matter right, so that each adult employee will receive lessons in courtesy, self-control and moral consideration for boys and girls. Youth has a divine right to be silly. "Being silly" is like the prancing of lambs in spring; it is cowardly, selfish, base, despicable, for adults to take advantage of the charm and gayety and irresponsibility of youth.

Industrial enterprises which derive profit from gratification of the pleasure sense of young people are chiefly dance-halls, theaters, hotels, eating places, amusement parks, means of transportation, railroads, taxicabs and the like. In addition there flourish in most cities underground activities, distribution of unclean literature, pictures and post-cards, peddling of liquor and drugs, and the more or less organized business of prostitution. These latter activities are partly, or wholly, criminal and under the ban of public disapproval. In communities infested with such profiteers it is chiefly necessary to devise good ways of administering laws and safeguards, already in existence. It is *not* these vampires of human weakness who cause initial damage to youth. Damage is usually started by carelessness and ignorance in industries which derive support and approval from respectable communities.

Boys and girls go for a "good time" to places of public entertainment and convenience which depend in large measure on youth for patronage. When cases of demoralization occur, a cry is raised that young people are corrupt, and parents careless; few men or women who have profited cold-bloodedly in dollars and cents from young lapses in discretion, or from poor paternal judgment, take responsibility for the result. The truth is that these public entertainers and hotels and the like owe their existence to the

enlarged state of our households. Family life now includes them; there are no longer castles which contain in themselves all the means of eating, drinking, relaxing and making merry.

For sheer lack of space the family has spread out into the city streets. There is no longer any reason, except greed, why these should not be as safe for boys and girls as for infants.¹

For accomplishment of this result only enlightenment and good-will among hotel managers, railroad and taxicab companies and places of public amusements are needed. Every one knows adolescents should not be in hotels without parental supervision; if notified, any social worker or police woman would take the young person to the proper guardian. Many of the best hotels, and all of the worst, ask no questions if price of a room is forthcoming. To put a "fake" nickel in the slot machine of a public telephone is punishable with imprisonment and a one thousand dollar fine; to put a runaway fourteen-year-old girl in a hotel room next door to her "sailor-friend" (often in the same room, with not even the usual hotel requirement of baggage) and pretend to think she is "married" or "of age" is in thousands of American communities no offense at all. If any one goes to court it is the little girl.²

I am not so sure that law enforcement will solve the problem; so many loop-holes, so much adult "cleverness" there are in this unequal combat between adventuring youth and profit-seeking adults.

¹ Jane Addams: "Spirit of Youth in the City Streets," pp. 51 to 103, MacMillan, New York, 1915.

² Adequate use is not made of the Contributing Law, which contains a remedy for many situations where adult greed, or indifference, has contributed to juvenile delinquency.

But there is not the least doubt that hotel men, in their business associations, could solve the problem in six months. What is true of demoralization occurring in hotels is equally true of dance-halls and cabarets.¹

When railway companies accept nitroglycerin or dynamite for shipment, they follow rules and regulations pretty closely for evident reasons. When they call themselves *public* carriers and public service corporations they should be equally cautious in transportation of runaway boys and girls. The slightest parental feeling, or regard for the position of the state as ultimate guardian of its youth would induce them to call on social organizations when they are in doubt as to moral safety of their young travelers.²

In a properly motivated adult community the young person traveling alone would be as safe from exploitation as if he or she were at home. Juvenile Court handles hundreds of unnecessary tragedies each year due almost wholly to keenness of adults for profit, and blindness to needs of youth. It reveals an appalling lack of imagination!

There remains to consider the child as consumer. Poisonous lolly-pops are no longer sold to children, but business has arranged an equally deadly way of catering to youth's love of finery. Meyerson³ has

¹ No one knows more about getting public dance-halls to co-operate in safety devices for young people than Jessie Binford, Superintendent, Juvenile Protective Association, Hull House, Chicago, Illinois. See Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, Toronto, 1924.

² The work of Traveler's Aid Societies, properly staffed by trained social service experts, cannot be too highly praised in this connection. But the railroads, etc., should bear their share in support of these safeguards.

³ Abraham Meyerson: "Foundations of Personality," p. 303.

noted that to-day the latest styles and luxuries are within the reach of every one's purse.

It may be impossible under economic laws of civilization to curtail extravagances of adolescents. But there are some rules of sound business procedure already in practice among reliable concerns which should be extended to all credit associations and "outfitting companies."

Pauline was a girl of sixteen, living as so many thousands of young girls from broken homes do now, entirely on her own earnings. Her mother was dead, her father unknown. She earned fourteen dollars a week making automobile tires. Her probation officer had placed her in a suitable boarding home. When spring came she flowered forth in new clothes and ear-rings of the extreme style of the period. She had obtained credit for an outfit costing over a hundred dollars, though of course the actual value was not a third of that amount. No real investigation of her financial status was made by the "company." In proportion to her income she had obtained credit which no business man or woman could hope to obtain. She was so obviously immature that credit should have been denied her, on ground that it was poor business, and the more humane view that it was not for her welfare. Pauline made a few futile efforts to pay the required four dollars per week. Then she became a fugitive. She gave up her job, sought one as cigarette girl in a cabaret, gave this up because she was annoyed by men, took a position as usherette in a theater, dyed her hair, changed her name and her boarding home trying vainly to elude the collector. Pauline finally disappeared and the court has no trace of her.

There are scores of Paulines on the list of every city court. Downfall is due to the pernicious arrangement of business to bring the "means" of possessing extravagant clothing to the minimum wage and apprentice girl.

If a respectable stranger of mature years tries to cash a check in a store where he is unidentified, he is subjected to humiliation or ridicule. A pretty girl of fourteen can easily cash a check for a larger amount in the same store. She may have the mentality of a child of eight; she may have forged the check; it makes no difference, the money will promptly be paid by the hypnotized cashier.

Clearly business and industry need awakening. Many evils from which youth suffers in the industrial world are so enshrined in our economic civilization that to remove them would be to rebuild it entirely; profit-economy would have to be replaced by a system based on respect for human life. This is no excuse however for the existence of evils which are incidental to carelessness, stupidity and a greed which, if not lawless, ought promptly to be declared outlaw.

The social worker looks forward to recognition of the right of youth to be safe-guarded in personal and social relationships of industry within the next few years, for already there is a more wholesome spirit abroad, brought about chiefly by those splendid young spirits among our college youth who have gone into the industrial conflict in a crusading mood, unhampered by tradition of "sex-appeal," and who are working, not for profit, but to gain understanding.

Any permanent relief to the position of handicapped boys and girls in industry must recognize

that work should furnish outlets to creative energy; there must be, not further mechanization of work until it is the dehumanized action of Robots,¹ but youth must have vivid participation in the concrete reality of production, and youth must share in responsibility.

¹ Capek's play entitled, "R.U.R.," where bio-chemical "machines," the Robots, have been invented to take the place of human beings in industry.

CHAPTER V

CONFLICT IN THE COMMUNITY

THE CONFLICT IN SOCIAL STANDARDS

THE community is a convenient name for the combined influence of human relationships. The community sums up experience for the individual, for it contains all social groups. In this discussion the community has no reference to geographical boundaries, or social entity; it is merely a loose term describing the social atmosphere in which the individual moves. Lindeman¹ has pointed out the significance of the child's experience with social groups, first the family, whose influence begins to wane as soon as the child meets conflicting ideas of the neighborhood, that collection of other families to which the child is taken visiting, usually about the third or fourth year. Until then George does not challenge the family code as to what is proper for little boys in the matter of bed-times or interrupting one's elders, for he has no standard of comparison. If, on returning from a neighborhood call he remarks:

"At Mrs. Brown's the dog *can* come into the house," there is evidence that the leaven of criticism is at work; he sees possibility of remodification of the family code of morals and manners in light of broader experience. Further contact with the

¹ Lindeman, Eduard: "The Community," Association Press, 1921, pp. 17-39.

neighborhood group, school, play and work groups, enlarges the number of conflicting ideas. Each group contributes opportunities for experience and response; as these turn out to be sources of comfort, joy or exhilaration, or sources of anxiety, doubt and depression, the child builds up emotional attitudes and habits of behavior. Constantly the child seeks to gain approval, or favorable attention from other human beings, to win social esteem. In the normal child this *wish* for social notice and approbation is dominant over everything else because upon adult favor his entire progress depends.

Thus the child is forever making compromises with its own desires, and what is apparently desired of him by adults. Gradually a form of energy is developed in the child's personality which we call will. The greediest child of three will refuse to touch the taboo sugar, if a sufficient value has clustered around parental approvals; that is to say, if the *wish* for social esteem in the child has been wisely strengthened. We have shown (Chapter II) that parents have power to break or distort this *wish* very early. The child may find the struggle too hard or too uncertain. He then "obeys" through fear, or as we say in popular speech, "he has no will power."

Kempf thinks that *will* is better understood if we describe it as the *wish*. If the object of the *wish* is strongly and clearly defined, so that the child can grasp it as a goal, present in lovely or appealing forms to imagination, the *wish* becomes a guiding-line. The child develops *will* mainly through wishing.¹

¹ Kempf, Edward J.: "Psychopathology," p. 57. (See also Holt, E. B.: "The Freudian Wish.")

The child must wish, it is evident, for something which has been made desirable; in matters of social conduct the child takes the color of its wish from what has been approved, or disapproved by the adult community.

All social groups exercise censorship over conduct, even in its most trivial aspects. Approval or disapproval is constantly being conveyed to the individual from the group as to personal habits, mannerisms, dress, gait, speech, etiquette, business and moral conduct. Whether he sleeps well at night, or digests his meals is largely due to what he thinks his neighbors are thinking of him, or how successfully he is able to harmonize his behavior with what he has imagined is the respectable course of action.¹

Mr. Zero cannot enjoy heaven itself if he feels that its pleasures conflict with social standards of neighbors back on earth.²

Censorship of the community, power through which it secures obedience to standards of conduct, is exercised both directly, through developed organs of expression, and indirectly by a more insidious method. Recognized channels for broadcasting moral views of the community are legal decisions, pulpit, press, conversation, lectures, debates, theaters, moving pictures, magazines, popular books, etc. There is a court of higher appeal, however blind and ignorant it may be, which has vaster influence, the court of "public opinion." The individual gathers the drift of public opinion from words, actions, gestures, attitudes, smiles, shrugs,

¹ A humorous account of the human being's love of being noticed is given by Clarence Day: "Our Simian World," Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1922, p. 80.

² Elmer Rice: "The Adding Machine."

sudden silences, coolnesses, frowns and guffaws of the "plain man on the street." It is this public opinion which has such deadly power to make or crush. Cheerfully a youth goes to the gallows if he thinks the "neighbors" believe him a hero for "getting that guy." The legal decision has no weight, even if it costs the condemned his life; he is sustained by the feeling of social esteem which he has gathered from favorable comments of press and court-room spectators, together with consciousness that the "gang is with him." It is useless for the church to preach chastity on Sunday if Cleopatra is being shown on Monday at the Neighborhood Theatre; that is to say, it is obvious to Mary there are decidedly two adult, permissible ways of looking at the matter.

This ability of the adult community to express its varying needs, attitudes and opinions in so many different ways is the chief cause of present day adolescent confusion and instability. There are, as Thomas has pointed out, so many conflicting ways of defining the social situation.¹

Primitive peoples and more simple civilizations than our own have no difficulty in impressing their young with a single, authoritative standard in which every one believes. To-day, not only are there many ways of defining what is right and wrong, but each view can rapidly permeate the community because of increased devices for talk and travel.

Young persons have the gift of hearing not only what is said, but overtones of what is not said but implied. Each social group, in silently or expressly appraising the moral value of conduct of its members, is answering burning questions of youth with

¹ Thomas, W. I.: "The Unadjusted Girl."

reference to ethics: How shall one love oneself and do one's duty to one's neighbors; What is the right attitude toward sex, property, manners and fashion? Adults must recognize that those who answer these questions in the same way tend to split off by themselves to become members of separate systems of thought, feeling and culture. When young people violate sacred family traditions and smile complacently, with no loss of self-esteem, it is *not* because they have become *anti-social*; it indicates probably that they dwell in some other island of social-culture which smiles upon their activities, and which is endorsed by some powerful group of adults. Almost all delinquencies of youth are the expressed social standards of a part of the adult community which is under no indictment, and which flourishes without condemnation. Illustrations are so numerous as to be superfluous: graft and corruption in government and business, selfishness and indifference to the principle of welfare in industry, tend to strengthen the social position of dishonest individuals; war and violence that of all who commit assaults; the habit of using persons to one's personal advantage, the impulse to possess and to dominate other personalities in order to promote one's own ego selfishly, is the root which nourishes the prostitute and her patrons, and all those who do violence to the emotional life of others.

The social worker should train himself to view the normal community as an energy in motion. Its standards are not static. Youth is in perpetual change also, the growth process. Each is dynamic. Adaptation between youth and community is therefore normally difficult. To add to complexity, the young person holds a dual position. Yesterday he

was told that he was "almost a man; mother and father were expecting big things of him"; to-day, after a burst of manly self-assertion, he was told "he was nothing but a child, lacking judgment and experience." Thus his status changes as his actions and attitudes are in agreement or conflict with opinions and convenience of adults.¹ Not only is youth, in the eyes of the community both child and adult, but his own emotional fluctuations, periods of dependence and inferiority, alternating with moods of exhilaration plunge him now into serfdom, now into heroic conflict. At the moment of triumph he is likely to collapse; at the moment of submission he is likely to rebel; his personality is not fixed, all is fluid within him.

The normal task of the young is to challenge social standards accepted in his time. He accomplishes this wholesome function not so much through rebellion as by questioning:

"Is this necessary?" "Why?" "Is this true, or right?"

He perpetually affirms the requirement of human beings for fresh definitions. He affirms the need for vivid contact with reality, for emotional warmth and richness, for heightened moments of experience, and for more simple, practical, common-sense approaches to human problems.

It is futile to inquire if the position of youth in this or that generation is right or wrong, progressive or regressive. Conflict between "Fathers and Sons" ■ is merely the two sides of the same process,

¹ This has been well pointed out by Jessie Taft, Ph.D.: "Mental Hygiene Problems of Normal Adolescence," 1921, p. 2.

■ Turgenev's novel, "Fathers and Sons," with supreme genius describes this eternal conflict.

or two currents in the same stream. We should not lose perspective. As soon as our arteries begin to harden we forfeit consciousness of past rebellion; we view with suspicion those bobbed-haired, flat-flanked young recruits, we are inclined to think they go too far. We are blind to everything except that we are being supplanted. Thus it is that more often grandparents, rather than parents, give youth comradeship and unselfish understanding. At any age it should be remembered that it is love, adventure and conflict which give value to life.

To comprehend the true nature of the conflict youth is waging with social standards we must examine conduct when he *thinks* he is complying, as well as when he becomes openly delinquent. In the matter of marriage, for example: a sailor meets an eighteen-year-old girl at a dance. She tells him her life is cramped and unhappy at home; he urges her to come up to his room to talk it over; she refuses. By this time he has become "really fond" of her, her refusal he interprets as due either to lack of feeling or that she is a "good girl." Reassured as to the state of her feelings, he insists that she meet him next day, down at the "electric station," and they will get married. In the morning the girl telephones her employer that she will not be down to work, she is getting married; her parents are not living together, she lives with an aunt who after all has no need to know, so she is not told. It is the girl's money that pays for rent of the hotel room, although the sailor in a burst of generosity has purchased the license. In a few days there is serious trouble. The young husband brings his sailor friends to the room. When it is late he won't turn them out; why should he? Let them stay all night.

The girl, whose waking hours for years have been filled with day-dreams of marriage, finds this idea, and all the barren reality, too much to bear. In the morning, after a week of marriage, she flees to Juvenile Court. The physician finds she is infected; in a week she has found a lover, lost a job, married a husband and forfeited him, for of course the sailor in indignation has gone back to his ship; now the young wife must enter a hospital. A year later this young woman obtains a divorce; her sailor husband has not seen her again, or written. She returns to the home of her aunt, secures a job and appears to have profited by experience.

In this case neither young person feels standards of correct social behavior have been violated; the boy, if he thinks at all, is of opinion he acted nobly in marrying; the girl herself is likely to concur.¹

This is typical of change of outlook upon marriage which is reflected in every community. Few realize how markedly the thing itself has changed. Marriage used to mean setting up a household. Each contributed product of labor, of preparation to the home; the young man might have house and lot, his trade, or craft; the girl her linens and skill in making life comfortable. It is interesting to note that the word *consort* meant originally, "one who shares property with another, a partner."² To-day it may be that nothing is shared but transitory irritation with restraints of the parental home or momentary appeal of physical intimacy. There is no authoritative public demand for a planned, durable

¹ Eleanor Rowland Wembridge, author of some illuminating articles on adolescents appearing in the *Survey*.

² Skeat, Walter W.: "Etymological Dictionary of the English Language."

marriage, capable of family formation. A marriage license is like a hunting license: it is awkward to be caught without one; well-intentioned young people comply with the statute. We need not inquire *why* social standards which place emphasis on preparation for family-making are so lacking to-day: lack must be explained by sociologist and churchman. Our concern is with the resulting conflict between biological impulses and shifting standards.

There is undoubtedly an influence at work in the modern world which is cheapening these impulses, and tending to make human nature an object of contempt. Are we indeed "putting to shame the charms of life" and thus leaving "unleashed the acquisitive instincts of men?"¹

If so, these transitory, dollarless, youthful marriages, begun in carelessness, ended in indifference are a challenge to goals of our economic civilization. The parents of these young couples mark decay of the Puritan home which has lost its biological sanity, and therefore its power to mold ideals of youth.²

Planned marriages are not possible unless human life is valued in and for itself; unless the life-stream is felt as a thrillingly delightful possession to be handed on with strength and vigor to the children. Since joy and virility have left the homes which produced so many of the young people who come to our courts and hospitals, it is inevitable that they will make no conscious effort to promote goals of family-formation.

¹ Van Wyck Brooks.

² See the "Puritan Home," George Herbert Palmer, *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1921, Vol. 128, pp. 589-599. An excellent description of the Puritan home at its best.

We should estimate this critical comment on morals of the past at its true value. Youth is always critical of the emotional solutions of age. It is said that the colonists of Oneida, who believed in a kind of group marriage, and who were satisfied after a generation of trial, had to abandon this phase of communal life because of the criticism of their children who "reverted" to monogamy!

To-day youth's best contribution to adult society is frankness. Hypocrisy, the shield and standard-bearer of the average mature community, is abandoned by boys and girls who, whatever their delinquencies, cannot be accused of pretense. Frankness will not be discovered by parents who declare: .

"I know everything my daughter is thinking of; she never conceals anything."

To those who have wisdom not to talk too much, and humility of the courteous listener who is eager to know, one who is not desirous of impressing youth with his own "sympathetic" personality, are revealed the genuine attitudes of boys and girls to-day on moral questions. Who can say the same of adults?

What this attitude is on the sex side of morality we can only wait and see. There are to-day more friendships between boys and girls than formerly. The sexes are getting better acquainted with the personalities and requirements of each other. That this cannot but result in wholesome alliances is the opinion of some of the enlightened workers with girl and boy delinquents. It is sometimes asked what then should be the attitude of social teachers of the young on experimental dealings with morals. Should they be recognized as necessary? Does promiscuity ever "help a girl to find herself"? Or,

as one critic puts it bluntly: "Is not sex-experience necessary for development?" Is not monogamic marriage a failure?

I think we can answer clearly. Health and joy in youth depend on energy flowing in constructive channels, unblocked by the "insidious censorship" of the community. During the growth period youth should be wisely protected from the innumerable blights, frosts and diseases of modern society. All primitive peoples have educated their young to believe in the wisdom and soundness of the prevailing code. If it must be altered, adults can better bear responsibilities and penalties that fall on the head of the innovator. Youth should be sacred to growth. Infractions of sexual morality tend to wreckage, from various causes,—hypocrisy, selfishness, loss of self-esteem. It is the social worker's duty to prevent wreckage by giving the individual opportunity to arrive at insight before standards have been violated. Force, dogmatism, harshness, have no value in the social workers' kit, and should be flung away as tools of the past. The social worker should reach a clear, healthful definition of the situation first himself, should know that promiscuity is probably a survival of demands of infancy,¹ by no means do "wild oats" produce their boasted harvest of virility and wisdom.

The social worker should believe genuinely in ideals of family-formation and she should not be a crabbed complainer as the prematurely soured case-worker is sometimes prone to be.

Whatever in the community cheapens and belittles

¹ Wilfred Lay: "The Mother Imago," 1920. Printed for private circulation. Address Mrs. Wm. F. Dummer, 679 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

the social nature of marriage, will hamper and delay development of youth to maturity. Forced marriages, marriages arranged to keep men out of prison and girls out of correctional schools, breaking up homes by social workers on insufficient reason, tend to weaken the status of marriage. Bedroom farces, screen comedies, comic strips, jokes and news-items which ridicule marriage, pollute the sources of public opinion from which youth takes its cue. It is not that one should wish to fetter art, or honest expressions of criticism. Havelock Ellis¹ notes that The Fourteenth Century Knight of Tour Landry in giving fatherly advice to his young daughters, presupposed them familiar with the evils of life to a degree which would shock modesty today. Morality can survive enlightenment; it cannot survive cheap, cynical, degradation applied day after day, not because the writer, singer or "artist" dislikes marriage, but because he panders for profit.

Contrast the procedure of primitive African Negroes! Like most "savages" they have respect for child-rearing and home-making. Young girls among the Yaos, a people of British Central Africa, on arriving at puberty have ceremonials which display feats of household skill, dancing and ability to endure physical pain without flinching; they are decorated with bells and weapons of warriors to commemorate courage, they are feasted and anointed, and finally in sight of the entire people, the young girls carry upon their shoulders a house constructed for the occasion, in order that all may see they are about to become "pillars of the home." ■

¹ "Little Essays of Love and Virtue," p. 18.

² Van Waters, Miriam: "Adolescent Girl Among Primitive Peoples," 1913, p. 64.

So little is genuinely known of moral life past and present that it is idle to ask if boys and girls are more lax in sex matters now than formerly. It is safer to make no comparisons. In certain communities epidemics of "high school scandals" occur; these are usually exaggerated in newspapers. It is believed that the tendency toward freer association of the sexes is lessening the numbers of prostitutes.

Juvenile Court officials everywhere notice that sex offenders are younger; more girls in the earliest teens come before the court. It would be surprising if this were not so since little attempt is made to shelter children or to provide safe-guards from cynicism; the youngest children are steeped in cheap, prevailing currents of public opinion about relations of the sexes which are making the social standards of our day. There is hardly a child, for example, who does not read headlines of newspapers—and the comic strip! It has been said that if a girl to-day practices virtue, probably she does not believe in it.

It should be understood clearly that the social standard is not a mere matter of opinion, evolved in rational discussion like a platform of college ethics. The social standard built of stored-up praise and blame of human beings, represents a form of energy which is the chief driving power behind the wish, or the will of individuals. Gradually the young person accepts social standards which appeal irresistibly; these become his guiding line, chief motive or, as we say, form character.

On what is appeal based? Youth selects, out of the clamor of public opinion, one or more authentic

voices which have power over him, all others he ignores. He gathers from this reservoir of energy that which his being needs for growth; his selection of the adequate social standard is so far from being a matter of chance that it should be made the future study of our race. We are still so ignorant of forces which mold personality that we express surprise when a chance discovery reveals them; we name them trifles. For science there are no trifles. Further study of the life-history of emotions as they develop from the conditioned reflex, and build their habits of loving, fearing and angering, must be made for adolescents as Watson has done for infants.¹ We suspect that the same laws hold true; the young person clings to those social standards which give comfort, rather than fear, irritation and anxiety.

Comfort must be understood in its deepest sense, as something which fulfills the needs of the entire being. It agrees with essential goals of personality. Pain is not always antagonistic to comfort, which may indeed require suffering, even death. Joan of Arc found comfort in those social standards which express courage and faith in the unseen. The mockery of the judges, the certainty of the flames, were not sources of fear and anxiety to her; doubtless she would have become irritated (i.e., angry) only when her movements toward spiritual freedom were hampered.² The same forms of energy are at work when girls and boys seek adventure in city streets. Craving for heightened experience will

¹ Watson, J. B.: "Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist," pp. 198-230.

² Watson, J. B.: "Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist," p. 213. Anger in infants results from restricting the movements.

uphold Joan of Arc at the stake and give the modern girl courage to weather a domestic scene. That social results are so wide apart is a challenge to our present day adult community. To achieve better results it is necessary to free moral opinions from their irritating effect upon the young. Parents, teachers, all social groups which desire to influence children to follow certain social standards and refrain from others, should learn how to express blame and praise without becoming annoying or ridiculous.

The mother in court who upbraided her daughter for the "low ambition of being a chocolate-dipper" said:

"I knew Ella was beginning to coarsen when she started saying 'his'n' and 'her'n.' "

is placing emphasis on the wrong things. In Ella's mind no distinction exists in disapproval expressed: men, automobiles, grammar, diseases, chocolate-dipping, late hours; all are berated alike. Before the adolescent from the "good home" becomes delinquent, she is usually an irritated and exasperated young person.

To invigorate our standards with some wholesome breath of life, to make them something worth living and dying for, it is necessary to remove pettiness, whims and selfishness. Kant found contemplation of the moral law as sublimely exhilarating as gazing at the starry heavens; too often we fill youth with feeling for our moral code which arouses nothing more than the contemptuous indifference with which the footworn traveler sees the sign:

"KEEP OFF THE GRASS."

Social standards to be effective to youth should be grouped around essential experiences of life and interactions of human beings. Matters of taste and manners which give style and distinction to life, which add vastly to comfort and convenience of social intercourse, should be cultivated in children, but they should not be confused with matters of the life and death interests of the race. Cosmetics, tobacco, length of hair, skirt and trouser, slang, gum-chewing, noise, boisterous laughter, knives and forks, disrespect for elders, should not obscure the simple, eternal verities of human experience, kindness, virility, honesty and love.

It is well to reflect that probably the present day bad manners of our young are protests against senseless repressive monotony in which so many children have been reared.

We have seen that social standards are built up from various expressions of opinion about human life. Social workers find their task in aiding development of youth made enormously difficult by the habits of isolation which are cultivated by social groups which have the most to give. Religion, art, and science are the three great fields of human experience which have power to furnish youth with a guiding line. Rich in heightened moments, they offer channels in which creative energy may flow. Primitive peoples in these fields too are superior to us since they make all their youth possessors of main principles of their religion, art and science; primitive boys and girls have contact with the personalities, ideas and activities of the community, which represent the most interesting and affecting fruits of human experience. If there are mysteries and a technical vocabulary, youth is initiated.

To-day the some two hundred thousand delinquent boys and girls in correctional schools, hundreds of thousands before courts and social agencies, know little about religion, art and science. The young people in dance-halls, cabarets, resorts, millions who throng city streets in a ceaseless, unhappy quest for "something to do" have certainly not been reached by any valid adventure of the spirit.

The social worker hesitates to criticize the church, but viewing prisons, hospitals, reformatories and courts, with one's ears echoing stories of drab lives, unlit by warmth of any genuine religious experience, children whose hearts have never beat faster for the mystic presence of any spiritual being, youths by hundreds who believe in nothing, know nothing of the feeling of an enlarged, creative power except that which may somehow come to them from their luck charms, "hunches," and innumerable modern idols and fetishes; the social worker seeing all this and knowing that to these half-starved and bewildered young spirits the least drop of living water would be as a miracle, questions whether it is essential for churchmen to busy themselves with talk of Fundamentalism versus Modernism. If clergymen cannot awaken youth to faith, humility and gratitude, or quicken his enthusiasm for life beyond himself, the church cannot cope with delinquency. Doubtless the modern church is reaching many young people with its classes, organizations, brotherhoods and sisterhoods; one cannot praise too highly the work of some of its protective bureaus and committees.

This proves that the church is concerned for the welfare of erring youth, but it is church turned social worker. Social activities within the church do

not fulfill the whole need, nor supply authentic spiritual leadership. In spite of friendly visitors, campaigns, drives and educational movies in churches, it is evident that lives of the young delinquents have been left singularly untouched by religion. Not only are juvenile court boys and girls ignorant for the most part of the history of religion, its dogmas, creeds and ritual, but its literature, festivals, its great personalities, its warm and vivid experiences are unknown. If you ask:

"What saying of a clergyman has most impressed you?" the average young delinquent stares and is blankly unable to answer anything at all. Nor is this state of affairs due to callousness, or stupidity on the part of youth. The fact is they have not heard anything from the church that is memorable, moving, soul-stirring or liberating in all their lives. The social worker does not question that there exist religious personalities to-day who are capable of uttering truths precious to youth; the pity is that the vocabulary is either too technical, or the isolation too complete. They fail to make connection with ideas and emotions of the young who are to become delinquent.

Religion does not flow from the church into the community in which the young delinquent moves, hence the church has no authoritative voice in those social standards which are to-day most powerfully in conflict with the moral code.

Art expresses the vivid experiences of human life. Its themes, the substances with which it deals, —sounds, color, rhythm, forms, movements, harmonies, masses, words, are part of the elemental stuff of imagination and emotions. Art and feeling for beauty have power to furnish a guiding line to

youth, and those who have given their lives to art are enemies of greed, hate and hypocrisy. Much of the subject matter of literature, opera, drama, poetry, sculpture and music is based on suffering and conflict; indeed the very kind of life-themes which juvenile court youth knows best. Why then the tremendous cultural isolation of artists? Why the need for words and techniques so utterly beyond the human audience that can most understand the emotional values? Tolstoi's tales for peasants, read by millions; words of Lincoln; the enduring life of folk-tales, of Shakespeare, arts and crafts of the Middle Ages, the world-wide appeal of art-objects of "King Tut," tend to show that simple beauty is universal. When art grows complex and esoteric, and artists split into cults, or when there is strife and pride among artists, or where emphasis is on profit, art forfeits its universal appeal. There is need to-day, as never before, for creation of beautiful objects and works of imagination which speak clearly and simply to human beings; work which again gives value to human life, and is not encrusted with self-seeking of the artists. Anatole France sums up the matter for writers of literature:

"Do you think it shows any superiority on the part of scribblers that they should isolate themselves in some little corner and fumble for words, rehash epithets and polish phrases, without a thought for the world about them? I think it is rather an infirmity."

"Great writers have not mean souls. That, Mr. Brown, is all their secret. They profoundly love their fellow-men. They are generous. . . . They do not limit their affections. They pity all suffer-

ing, and strive to soothe it. They take compassion on the poor players who perform in the comic tragedy, or the tragi-comedy, of destiny. Pity, you see, is the very basis of genius."¹

We do not mean that art should become propaganda. The thing which would furnish youth, especially delinquent youth, with fresh energy for constructive life, would come into existence through art when artists felt human problems with sufficient vividness and simplicity to compel clear expression. With the artist, it must be a matter of conviction, a change of emotional attitude toward rejected humanity. It is always a source of surprise to those who do not know delinquents to observe with what eagerness they receive worth-while music, literature, or the plastic arts. The highest works of genius make appeal, while that which is merely clever is likely to bore them.

In some modern communities, bandits, murderers and sex-offenders furnish most of the excitement. This is exceedingly short-sighted policy on the part of the leaders of youth. Artists should assume leadership. The individual delinquent's conflict with social standards cannot be solved at the level of the conflict. Let artists help youth to express their creative longings.

Science, in becoming more clear, direct and intelligible, has a tremendous rôle to play in showing youth his place in nature, and in filling him with enthusiasm for life. That scientists recognize the danger of permitting too great gaps to occur between their researches and the mass of mankind is becom-

¹ France, Anatole: "Opinions Recorded by Paul Gsell," Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 62, 125. 1922.

ing evident in the number of well-written, simply expressed scientific books that are appearing.¹ Youth can be fired with mysteries of science if brought within range of his imagination before he is prematurely dulled by mediocre teaching. Yeomans, in his brilliant little book on modern education, has furnished good examples.²

If any one doubts that subject matter and attitudes of religion, art and science are almost unknown to average youth, let him try the experiment of making a list of questions for boys and girls of average intelligence:

"What are the lessons of the Sermon on the Mount?"

"Of what spiritual meaning is baptism, marriage, a funeral service, Easter, Christmas?"

"Explain: 'Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.'"

"What did Christ mean when he said: 'Unless ye become as little children ye cannot enter the kingdom of Heaven.'"

"He that is without sin among you let him cast the first stone.'"

"Name a symphony you have heard."

"Name one great composer of music (who did not write jazz)."

"Tell the story of the love of Dante for Beatrice."

"Why was Hamlet unhappy?"

"What did Thomas Jefferson say about rebellion and conflicts in American public life?"

"Why are plants green?"

¹ See especially "The Outline of Science," edited by J. Arthur Thomson, in 4 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922.

² Edward Yeomans: "Shackled Youth," Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921.

"Name one star, besides Venus and Mars."

"How can we be called children of the sun?"

"How is human life reproduced?"

Let each one collect these answers for himself, and make others, far simpler questions. He will be surprised, even stunned at the result.

On the other hand do not attribute it to dullness of the children. Let them prepare a list for you:

"Who won the last automobile championship race?"

"Who are the five most married moving picture stars?"

"Who wrote the Love Bird?"

"Name the eight best jazz orchestras in town."

"What is the income of Rudolf Valentino?"

And so on.

Clearly certain sections of community thought and action get themselves expressed to youth far better than others. Culture and virtue among adults are paying too high a price for their distinction, their isolation. Unless means of communication are found for opinions and ideas of creators among the human race, modern youth will adopt the religion of paganism, and moral codes of the daily press.

CHAPTER VI

THE ATTITUDE OF DELINQUENCY

DELINQUENCY, as a word, has a varied history. The Latin *de*, away or from; *linguere*, to leave, was not in Latin literature applied to children. It meant failure, neglect of duty, abandonment of an agreement.¹ Roman parents who assumed responsibility for conduct of children would have felt it an absurdity to use such a term in speaking of them. In the time of Cromwell the common English way of describing a follower of Charles I, was to refer to him as a *delinquent*; that is to say, he had abandoned the cause of the people. To-day we say taxes are delinquent; we mean they are neglected or omitted; we do not apply the word to ourselves as *delinquent* for not paying.

Modern social work has reserved use of the word delinquent almost exclusively for children. It is material for thoughtful analysis, since words absorb into themselves thought, emotional attitude and philosophy of life. In terming children we have failed to educate properly *delinquent*, we have shifted the burden from adults to children.

In contrast to primitive society civilized society places responsibility of delinquency on children. It is supposed we treat children to-day better than formerly. It is true we deal less strenuously with the child who has been labeled an offender. In early

¹ W. W. Skeat: "Etymological Dictionary of the English Language."

English common law, the child over seven years of age was held responsible for his acts, and frequently young children were put to death. There was the so-called "twilight period" from seven to fourteen where full culpability was not taken for granted, and immaturity might be pleaded as a defense. In the state of New Jersey as late as 1825, a boy of twelve was hanged. The law pursuing its relentless logic, (where there is crime, or injury, there must be responsibility) held even animals capable of guilt, and a complaint against an old sow and her litter of pigs for damaging a crop resulted in a solemn conviction and execution of the mother, although it was conceded the young pigs were not to blame. But ancient and middle age public opinion did not encourage bringing children before court as criminals. Parents, schoolmaster, priest, or village elder administered correction when needed. There was a sound public opinion moreover that adults, not children, should be held responsible.

Our Colonial Dutch forefathers placed on the statute books of New York in 1615 the following law against Sabbath-breaking:

If any child were "caught on the street playing, running or shouting previous to the termination of the last preaching, the officers of the law may take their hat, or upper garment, which shall not be restored to their parents until they have paid a fine." Here all the loss, inconvenience and penalty fell directly on the parents.

The Juvenile Court came into existence to remedy a great evil. In the United States in 1898 at the time Julia Lathrop made her survey of conditions in jails and penitentiaries, thousands of children throughout the country had been brought before

adult criminal courts, tried for offenses, and punished as adults. The moral damage thus done to childhood can never be computed; it was an evil as vast and barbarous as slavery. As a result of protest of a few, Juvenile Courts were provided in many places, and to-day there are twenty-five distinct separate Children's Courts in the United States.¹ The work has hardly begun, however; not only are there states without organized Juvenile Courts, but in many courts where organization is present, we find the spirit of the old method.

We cannot return to the ancient method of handling children who become problems. It is apparently a law of social evolution that a function once lost cannot be recovered in just that form. We cannot travel the road back, and rear up iron-clad parents who put their children to death. We will not revert to the days of Abraham, whose struggle with the problem of human sacrifice is symbolic of the rôle parents have played for ages in the history of our race. There are indications that society may develop new controls of youth, superior to family-control, as youth itself becomes more enlightened and more self-conscious.²

Meantime as the community struggles with its new problems of juvenile control, and as the work of the Children's Courts is presented more widely, there is a tendency to rush to Juvenile Court all youth that is troublesome, to label all young offenders as delinquent. The court attracts to itself, in early stages of growth, extravagant hopes and praises, and the maliciously bitter attacks of the half-educated who have not ability to grasp its sig-

¹ See publications of the National Probation Assoc.

² For example, "The Youth Movement."

nificance or to understand its principles. The community is sometimes misled by clamor of these folk into regarding their children's court, now as a panacea for all ills of childhood, or again as a kind of branding iron which automatically scorches a sign or *stigma* on each child who passes its threshold.

Each community builds up its own concept of Juvenile Court; in proportion to the number of enlightened, educated people of good will in the community, court work is either good or bad.

It is public opinion that classifies children into delinquent, or non-delinquent. Thus the very method created by the community to deal with mal-adjusted children, is made to increase the difficulty of adjustment. As soon as children are classified they tend to develop attitudes and habits of response in keeping with their rôle. Certain young people, by no means the most serious offenders, often display in Courts an attitude which is thoroughly *delinquent* or *abandoned*.

The attitude of delinquency assumed by children is a compound of insolence, bravado, scorn, poise, wit, youthful cunning and resourcefulness in lying, impossible to describe unless witnessed. The attitude is seen to best advantage in police courts, in Juvenile Courts, where procedure is like the criminal courts, and in some juvenile reformatories where smoldering feuds break out on occasion into riots. The "hardness," flippancy, world-weariness, fearless disrespect of young girls in the "so-called" Morals Courts, has frequently been commented on. Adult criminals would not dare to taunt or to defy the judge in this manner. Youth has more courage, less prudence. . . .

When the delinquent attitude is studied it is shown to be a defense-reaction built up of habits long used in self-protection. It is the natural product of a series of more or less "trifling" experiences with adults who have confronted, mocked, insulted, hunted, or set them apart.

When this boy was eleven, he came before the court as a young delinquent in need of a home. He was a meek boy with straw-colored hair and an expression which earned him the nickname of "White Rabbit." He was placed in a boarding home from which he promptly ran away. He was caught by a deputy-sheriff and taken to the detention home. There he cried a great deal, and said he was homesick. The court replaced him in a dairy. In two years he had grown into a husky boy who would pass for fifteen. The dairy man returned him to court alleging he stole two bottles of milk; the real reason, however, was that the boy was beginning to eat too much. He was transferred from a woman to a man probation officer. Because of quarantine at the detention home his probation officer held him for "safe-keeping" in a suburban jail. White Rabbit related his experiences:

"He took me there late one night and said he was coming for me the next day. I didn't undress. I sat up all night, and the next day behind the bars waiting. I did not see any prisoners, but I sure felt awful. In the afternoon I unpacked my things and packed them up three times. He didn't come. I thought I would die the next night. The jailer said my probation officer was too busy. I wrote him a letter. They treated me all right, gave me coffee and everything, but I was nearly crazy. I wrote three more letters, but I never got any answer.

I waited there ten days, and I thought that *bird*¹ had forgotten all about me. Then he came one night late. I hustled into my clothes and he took me to the detention home. He said there had been a lot of sickness there. I told him I had kind of expected him before and he just laughed. Gee! I could have killed that fellow!"

White Rabbit was again boarded with a private family. The foster-father expected him to study a great deal, and did not understand that the boy's mentality was not adequate to the demands of high school. He again ran away. He was found in company with an older boy who was wanted for grand larceny. White Rabbit was now sixteen. He had in his possession a jack-knife which the older boy claimed was stolen from him. There had been a dispute about two silk shirts. Both boys were handcuffed and taken to court, the probation officer saying to White Rabbit:

"I'll put you somewhere now where you can't run away."

As the man related to the Judge his "long struggle to redeem this boy," and the boy's "ingratitude and habitual running away and consorting with thieves," White Rabbit smiled contemptuously. He is now in a reformatory for young male offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one.

In this case the elements of the delinquent attitude can be traced; a little boy chased by a deputy-sheriff,

¹ Use of terms *bird*, *bull*, *cop*, etc., as expressions of contempt for the police, is part of the vocabulary of the crook. As the child learns these slang terms, he assumes the manners as well as the speech of those who are at war with society.

Unanswered letters tend to destroy the confidence of the child. Dr. William White states that he replies personally to all the letters sent him by his insane patients.

failure on the part of the probation officer to explain fully about the jail-lodging; broken faith, unanswered letters, calling a healthy boy's milk-drinking a theft, and so on. Delinquent attitudes are built up of similar "slight" matters.

Preconceived opinions held by those who come first in contact with the offending child have much to do with the evolution of the delinquent response. Teachers, social workers, police, may display race or class prejudices, or "have it in" for the younger members of some troublesome family. One teacher greeted each of the boys of a large Polish family on school entrance:

"Well! so you are another X——! I expected it. Don't you start anything around here like your brother Sam!"

An attitude of weary anticipation of failure may be expressed:

"How then is Mary Louise doing in her new foster-home?"

"Oh, she is doing all right . . . for Mary Louise. She'll *never* be anything different, you know."

A symposium was held in the public schools on the question:

"Why do children lie?"

The most revealing, the most deeply scientific answer was:

"In order to get along with adults."

A probation officer who did not like colored people unless they were her intellectual inferiors had in charge a keen, brilliant young Negro girl who wished to become a lawyer. This girl's entire personality apparently changed during a few months under her new probation officer. From a good-humored, courteous person, she changed to a violent,

defiant girl who chased this woman with a knife; there was a change of officers, and the girl resumed her former personality. The court has known this girl all her life, and only this one outbreak occurred.

Unwise treatment by adults is one of the chief causes of the delinquent's hostile, anti-social attitude. It is possible to treat the young offender in such a manner that he will coöperate in a plan for his own treatment. Threatening, bantering, accusing, or smashing down the personal self-respect of the child will destroy the influence of the adult, and develop hate or resistance.

Court officials and judges cannot apply their ordinary standards of legal etiquette to young children, or to those who are helpless.

A smiling Mexican messenger boy of sixteen entered a court room to deliver a telegram; after the manner of messenger boys he had put his message in the lining of his hat.

"Take off your hat," said the bailiff.

The boy, who knew little English, smiled and proceeded to approach the judge.

"Take that grin off your face," warned the bailiff.

The boy handed the telegram to the judge, who told him to keep his hat off. As the smiling boy tried to leave the court room he was fined five dollars for contempt.¹

Bringing of children into court on warrants, use of handcuffs, or other mechanical restraints, use of criminal terminology, such as: "complaint," "trial," "sentence," "criminal," tend simply to produce in children the typical "crook attitude." When this

¹ For an excellent account in literature of how a peaceful, law-abiding man may acquire the attitude of delinquency, see "The Majesty of Justice," by Anatole France.

unwise court procedure is coupled with bad pre-court methods, over-much use of police in uniform, or police who use slang, such as "who pulled this job?", "I'll give you a jolt in the tank for this," or "I'll send you up, young fellow," or "you're sure some jazz baby, kid," or who use harshness and methods of force in dealing with young children; teachers or social workers who use some form of "third degree," in obtaining a "confession," or who threaten the child with criminal proceedings, the result is the production of an attitude of mind which is the very essence of delinquency.

The problem of adults should be to shelter children from the speech, manners, emotional attitudes, and habits of thought of the outlaw, and the underworld. Youth easily slips into the attitude of warfare against society; courage, resourcefulness to a degree that is almost heroic may be born in an effort to reach freedom from restraints and treatment that youth interprets as tyranny. For example: one story from a girls' correctional school in the Middle West reads like a tale of heroism. Two girls of fourteen and sixteen had been punished for minor infractions of discipline until they ran away. When caught they were shut in cell-rooms and fed bread and milk for two weeks. They were lodged on the fourth story of an old fashioned wooden building with half rotten gratings and drain pipes. It was mid-winter and a prairie blizzard was raging. Clad in their cheap institutional clothing and weakened by fasting, these young girls made their descent by clinging to the icy drains. This feat is an almost unbelievable example of skill and endurance. It shows that the attitude of rebellion and delinquency may tap the deepest resources of human

energy. Adults must not be so blind as to think this energy can be destroyed. They must assist young people to discover channels where it may flow without ruin.

Socialized Juvenile Courts in many different parts of the country may be visited where one may not see a single boy or girl with a hardened attitude. They come before the court frankly and simply; they tell their misdeeds as children would do before the face of a wise, tender and strong parent, feeling that they *must* tell and cannot lie. When such a court has been in operation for several years, the "attitude of delinquency" in its extreme form almost entirely disappears from the community.

The untrained worker cannot grasp the significance of this, nor believe in its importance. Honest policemen and probation officers feel they do right in combating wrong doing with all the force of their natures. They cite instances of boys of twelve attempting to murder them; one policeman admitted that he had never felt such fear in his life as he experienced when a small boy "held a gun on him." Officers relate stories of just escaping having their brains knocked out. They explain the skill, chicanery, daring and entire lack of conscience of "young boy and girl crooks." Sheriffs who have handled riots in girls' correctional schools testify that the foul language, the obscenity, violence, and sheer wickedness of these girls, who demolish whole buildings, set fire to institutions, maim or kill employees, is beyond imagination.¹ This is true. There is no reason for these outraged officers of the law to show sentimentality toward these young

¹ State schools or reformatories of Ohio, Kansas, New York, California, are among those which have had serious riots.

people. Like the insane they are capable of untold damage. But this attitude is unnecessary. These same girls and boys can be stilled by the presence of one calm spirit, whereas a company of deputy-sheriffs would cause a fresh riot. As in the management of the insane, attendants who show tranquillity of mind, and a little skill in personality, have successfully handled the most obstreperous; so with young delinquents, the apparently violent and dangerous yield almost without a struggle to simple approach of a human being, without fear, prejudice or hatred.

Where communities have not bullied their juvenile delinquents, where the attitude of adults for many years has been wisely parental, and the officers and social workers of the court have been trained in courtesy toward children, the delinquent attitude no longer develops, and that community has taken the longest stride forward in solving the problem of delinquency.

On last analysis the true definition of delinquency would be something not properly to be applied to children; some act, or breach of faith which would tend to destroy the dignity and integrity of human life. This would be the act of an adult, or a mature personality,—not the act of a child.

PART II

THE ADJUSTMENT OF DELINQUENCY

CHAPTER VII

JUVENILE COURT PROCEDURE ¹

IN adjustment of delinquency procedure of the Juvenile Court colors the entire process, and establishes the status of the offending child in public opinion. If the court conceives its function as a quasi-criminal tribunal where children are punished for offenses with rather less formality than in adult courts, the neighborhood opinion, and that of police, school, church, business organizations and newspapers will be penal. If the court is filled with the spirit of welfare, the community is led to view the delinquent as one who is handicapped and in need of help.

The legal basis on which the Juvenile Court was created is the law of equity. In Anglo Saxon times there was the common law under which criminals were tried, and civil suits brought, and a law of equity, administered in the court of chancery. The chancellor, and his representatives, masters in chancery, or referees as we call them to-day, were the direct channel through which power of the King (symbolizing the State) could flow for relief and protection of those who were helpless before the common law. Aubyn de Clyton in 1321, complain-

¹ The writer elsewhere, in "Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law," Hoag, E. B., and Williams, E. H., Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1923, pp. 158-167, has described the Socialization of Juvenile Court procedure.

ing of "a gross and outrageous trespass," petitions the chancellor, setting forth his reason for not going to common law, in that "said Johan and Philip hold their heads so high and are so threatening that the said Aubyn does not dare contest with them."¹ The King felt himself to be the ultimate guardian of his people. Estates of minors having no guardian, persons of unsound mind, helpless because of insanity, minors whose parents were unfit or indigent, from earliest beginnings of English legal history have been dealt with by chancery proceedings in the court of equity. It was said the arm of the chancellor was so long that it could stretch out for the protection of the weakest child in the kingdom. In the modern state this power is known as *parens patriæ*, the state as parent.

In the United States, dependent children were always provided for by courts which either were courts of equity, or used the same function. It was recognized that the court was *guardian* of the child, had power to appoint persons to look after its welfare, to take any means necessary to preserve it. When Juvenile Court laws were written in this country by the various states since 1899, the delinquent child was placed under the same jurisdiction, for the same reason: i.e., lack of proper effective *parental guardianship*. Juvenile Court was given power to deal with the offending child without criminal procedure, or formality, with one aim always in view: the ultimate welfare of the child. No matter what offense has been committed, in no case:

"Shall an order adjudging a person to be a ward

¹ Henderson, John G.: "Chancery Practice," Chicago, 1904, p. 121.

of Juvenile Court be deemed to be a conviction of crime."¹

That no doubt can exist as to the method in which the child shall be treated, detained and disciplined while under jurisdiction of court, it has been specially stated:

"This act shall be liberally construed, to the end that its purpose may be carried out, to wit, that the *care, custody and discipline* of a ward of the Juvenile Court, as defined in this act, shall approximate as nearly as may be that which *should be given by his parents.*"²

This citation on spirit of the law, or its construction, is taken from California merely for the reason that nearly all Juvenile Court legislation contains it, either expressly or implicitly.

Against the spirit of this law is use of anything penal, warrants directed against the child, (warrants in *behalf* of a child may be necessary to obtain relief from cruel or law-breaking adults, or of an older minor for his protection,) handcuffs, jail detention, unnecessary detention in the county home, harsh or purely legalistic questioning in court, newspaper publicity, use of threats or intimidation, presence of uniformed policemen, or show of violence. It has been pointed out elsewhere that use of wrong words in court procedure tends to make it penal, since *words* and *attitude* of proba-

¹ California Juvenile Court Law, Section 5. California Statutes, approved June 5, 1915, amended 1917; p. 1002. See Juvenile Court Standards, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., Publication No. 121.

² Section 24, California Juvenile Court Law. See also "The Standard Juvenile Court Law," published by The National Probation Association.

tion officers and judge reënforce each other.¹ *Petition* should be used instead of *complaint*. *Hearing* instead of *trial*. *Commitment* or *order of placement* instead of *sentence*. It will not be difficult to acquire the right vocabulary if the attitude of constantly doing some constructive, *parental* thing for the child is held in mind. It is against the parental nature of the court to place a child on the defensive, so that he must *plead guilty* or *not guilty*. The child should be asked simply, without presumption, to tell his own story.

Difficulty in obtaining right procedure is sometimes due to presence of mature minors in court. In California and Colorado the age limit is twenty-one, in Ohio eighteen, in New York sixteen; the tendency in recent legislation is to extend the age-limit. This means that occasionally boys and girls appear who are physically and mentally adult. It is felt by some judges that it is impossible, or unwise, to deal with these minors by the usual method. Practically all states have a remedy for this, concurrent jurisdiction.² Thus minors who are nearly as mature as adults, can, in discretion of Court, be dealt with in the adult manner. This provision should do away with alarm and enable the judge to deal in the parental manner with older boys and girls who are retained. Parental treatment should be a fixed rule of Juvenile Court, a legal maxim, or sacred legal tradition, as firmly established as dignity of the bench itself. Traditions, safeguarding the child from criminal procedure should be

¹ Van Waters, Miriam: "The Juvenile Court as a Social Laboratory," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 7, No. 6, pp. 318-324. See also in this book, Chapter I.

² "A Summary of Juvenile Court Legislation," pp. 15-24.

established and as tenaciously, relentlessly upheld as those which safeguard the court from contempt. It must be done in much the same spirit.

Contempt of court, through tradition, has come to have a universal significance, as any word, deed or attitude which in the slightest degree operates to weaken authority, respect, dignity of court. Law-abiding citizens are saturated with this feeling and would no more think of violating etiquette of court than of disturbing the peace of church. An attitude of respect has been built up for centuries. It is, at least, equally necessary during the first decades of Juvenile Court procedure to establish a tradition of respect for rights of childhood. Some one must be always jealously watching to see that the child is not insulted or injured, or his rights disregarded. As now we feel something like a chill of horror when some rash spirit uprises in court to fling contumely at the judge, so instantly in the mind of all officials of the court, witnesses and spectators, should a feeling of revulsion and protest arise when an injury is done in court to the spirit of the child.

Change of emphasis from a legalistic procedure to one based on welfare of child and community, has been called in recent years, the socialization of court procedure.

"The working out of this tendency toward broader functions and a more human emphasis and aim has involved a more liberal procedure or method of transacting the business of the courts. . . . When a court is acting, not as an arbiter of private strife but as the medium of the State's performance of its sovereign duties as *parens patriæ* and promoter of the general welfare, it is natural that some

of the safeguards of judicial contests should be laid aside. This corollary to the main tendency to which we have referred may be fitly styled the socialization of court procedure."¹

That socialization does not conflict with personal rights recognized by the common law as adopted in our Federal and State constitutions, has been repeatedly tested in our higher courts and there is now a sound body of law upholding the major principles of the Juvenile Court.

In a children's court where these principles are at work we find distinct departures from usual criminal procedure.

The court room itself is small. It is furnished simply. There is no jury-box, the distinction between bench and bar is not expressed in railings, high platforms, or other formal symbols. If the room is small there will not be much space for spectators; child and judge, probation officer and parents, are brought closely together in personal conference. If hearings are held in a Court House, instead of in a special juvenile building, the chambers of the judge are better than the general court room. Each child should have a separate hearing. To permit other boys and girls and their parents to hear, or to witness, as spectators one another's cases is a practice so self-evidently bad that it ought to be universally condemned. If children hear details of other delinquencies or family situations, they are not only given opportunity to become further experienced in delinquency, or domestic strife, but

¹ Hon. Edward F. Waite, Judge of Juvenile Court of Hennepin County, Minneapolis, Minn.: "Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Court Standards," published by The Children's Bureau, No. 97, p. 55, Washington, D. C., 1922.

they tend to build up the delinquent attitude referred to in Chapter VI. Provision should be made for witnesses and children in cases waiting to be heard. There will be no special difficulty about this if the goal of securing the child's welfare be kept uppermost.

The general public should be excluded. Usually this provision is made in the statute. The right of one accused of crime to have a public trial was doubtless secured in modern civilized constitutions after centuries of struggle with *lettres de cachet* and other summary methods of despotism. But where constitutional right to public trial exists, the court is trying the individual charged with crime. In chancery jurisdiction, where the issue is dependency, neglect, in matters of guardianship and welfare of the child, there is no such constitutional provision. Exclusion of the public is exercised in behalf of the delinquent child and his parents. Social workers, qualified students, other persons of good-will may be admitted at discretion of court, with permission of parents. Newspaper publicity should be banned. No names, ages, addresses, pictures, or stories of juvenile cases where identification is possible should be allowed by the court, or tolerated by the community. Not only may the reputation of the child be impaired, but his chance for succeeding during probation be destroyed by publicity. Newspapers usually agree to withhold Juvenile Court matters. It has been argued that the public cannot be enlightened as to work of the court, and the status of juvenile delinquency in the community, unless they read about it in the newspapers. This argument has little weight since treatment of crime in newspapers gives little or no enlightenment

as to social facts and causes of crime. A better way for the judge and other court officials to inform the public is by lectures, or signed newspaper articles, dealing, not with specified cases, but social conditions.

Representation of children by attorneys is no barrier to socialization, if attorneys are made to understand it is not a contest of rights, nor conflict between child and adult in which the court serves as arbiter. A socially-minded lawyer who has rid himself of prejudices and preconceptions of other courts can be of service both to child and juvenile judge. Usually when it is explained that it is the *real welfare* of the child that is sought, the lawyer becomes a friend. The lawyer, however, must accustom himself to relaxed procedure and must not seek to hamper the child and court in their process of arriving at truth. It is greatly to be regretted that law schools do not give more attention to educating young men and women to become family-welfare lawyers. Doubtless this will be the task of the future.

In socialized juvenile court procedure, the judge, or referee, will usually ask most of the questions, will conduct the hearing. It is evident that testimony received in this way, from child or parent, directly in front of the judge, rather than from the witness stand, will tend to reveal better the true situation. This is, of course, a matter of discretion with the judge. As to whether the child and parents shall sit or stand, whether they shall be placed under oath or not, are also questions of detail that each judge will decide for himself. Whatever method of taking testimony is used, the central purpose must be remembered: the court wishes to

know the whole truth in order that welfare of the child may be secured. Before questioning begins the judge usually has the investigation of the probation officer before him, with a more or less complete social history. If this is lacking the case should be continued. Before any final order of court is made the judge will know the physical and mental status of the child, as determined by expert laboratory study. Too much reliance on any one formula will be avoided when the court begins to work out a plan. Coöperation from parents and child will be secured as it is gradually apparent to them that, unlike ordinary procedure where judgment of court advances to a decision, irrevocable as Doom's Day, the Juvenile Court will take plenty of time, provide for rehearings when new facts are discovered, will modify its orders as life-situations of child and family require modification.

It is often a source of surprise that Juvenile Court judges are enabled to get the whole truth from children, and even adult witnesses. This is due partly to absence of force, embarrassment and intimidation, partly to the fact that those who come, as in case of those who visit clinic or confessional, expect not punishment, but relief and understanding treatment.

Investigation has shown that it is easier for the individual to tell the truth, to recall past situations without error, if he is instructed:

"Go ahead, relate the story in your own way," than if he is asked detailed questions. The question is a challenge, causing the child to take the attitude of defense. Questioning must take place, to clear up doubtful points or to refresh memory, but it should be used sparingly, and each person should

be encouraged to relate what he or she actually knows.

What in good Juvenile Court procedure shall be the test of truth, that is to say, what shall the court admit as evidence? There is no magic in Juvenile Court that makes hearsay, or unfounded public opinion any safer than in other tribunals. Customary rules of evidence should be observed, with exception that the judge should not reject as immaterial any fact that throws light on the child's character, or condition.

"No judge on any bench has need to be more thoroughly grounded in the principles of evidence and more constantly mindful of them than the judge of a Juvenile Court."¹

Fears and suspicions of probation officers, hopes and suppositions of welfare workers, should not be substituted for sound, clear, proved knowledge. If it is complained that often it is difficult to prove facts of parental unfitness, for example, and that in order to give children proper protection it is sometimes needful to proceed on insufficient evidence, it is well to bear in mind that the court has plenty to do in safeguarding its wards where cases are clear, and that procedure based on faulty evidence weakens the Juvenile Court, and ultimately would cause its falling into suspicion and decay. Clear proofs should always be demanded in children's cases; skilled workers, with insight and patience, can usually furnish this.

In serious behavior-problems in young children, for example, persistent lying, stealing,

¹ Children's Bureau, Pub. No. 97, Hon. Edward F. Waite, p. 59.

running away, unprovoked assault, erratic sex conduct, etc., where it may be supposed the difficulty is one of emotional conflict, the judge will wish clear, explicit statement of the misdeed as it has appeared to parents, teachers or neighbors, but will exclude the child from the room during this testimony. "Why—the child has heard it all before, if he has done wrong, should he not be confronted?" Letting this child hear what adults say of him would be justifiable if he were normal, if he were "responsible" for his actions. But in the cases now referred to, it would be like allowing the child to listen to discussion of physician and parents, as to how sick he was in an attack of illness; fears and interpretations of adults would retard recovery. Almost all adults are careless in speech before children, and thus really injure them by inflicting premature sophistication. The court has the right to say to these adults:

"We now begin to think first of the child. We will try to get the result of your adult observations, and then when we have worked out a plan we can tell the child what is necessary for him to know."

No one can fail to have noticed the attitude of scorn, rebellion, or fear and inferiority, expressed in faces and bodies of little children as some policeman or teacher has recounted "wicked lying," or "smart thieving," or "nastiness," observed. To "cure" the child, it is essential to get his confidence; this cannot be done if his spirit has been injured in court to the point of humiliation. In cases of adolescent boys and girls in open, expressed conflict with current moral standards, the young peo-

ple of course should hear all that neighbors and police think of them. The judge who is a specialist in human personalities will use his discretion.

That adults can benefit by equity procedure of the court, has been noted. Unfitness in parents has legally been determined a temporary condition, that is to say, parents can be given a chance to become fit. If the Juvenile Court says to a young mother:

"Here it is not sought to *prove* you unfit, or to *incriminate* you. Your child is pale and weak. There is evidence that you neglect her to go to dances. Do you, yourself, feel *your child* is all right?"

The mother may brush aside her attorney and reveal such an interest in her child that she will cooperate in a plan for its welfare, even to temporary separation. It should be made impossible to use testimony of parents, given in moments of generous self-sacrifice, for purposes of litigation in other matters, such as divorce complaints. Often in cases where parents have had such an experience in juvenile court, contributing proceedings are unnecessary.¹

Twenty-seven states² have safeguarding provisions against using evidence gained in Juvenile Court against the child in other proceedings. This protection should be extended to parents, who in good faith, for the purposes of child welfare, give evidence against themselves.

¹ Prosecution under the statute which makes an adult subject to penalty for the misdemeanor of contributing to the conditions which bring the child before the Court.

² Children's Bureau: "A Summary of Juvenile Court Legislation in the United States," by Sophonisba P. Breckenridge and Helen R. Jeter. Bureau Publication No. 70, Legal Series No. 5, Washington, D. C., 1921, p. 41.

The dynamic nature of the Juvenile Court, the fact that its orders can be modified without expense, or tedious preparation of technical papers, makes it particularly suited for the purpose of securing adequate social treatment. It is a drawback if the staff of the court, its personnel, is constantly changing. If the judge is changed every year or so, if probation officers who appear to have promised so much, and give so great a feeling of security to the child, flit about the country, as is the custom of social workers; it is too much like the shifting fathers and mothers and landlords of the child's own "broken home." If we really desire to do something constructive for the child who comes before the court, we can assist the community to build up a stable, secure, parental juvenile court, where politician and chronic migratory welfare worker will not be encouraged to enter.

To do something constructive for the child is the goal of the entire procedure. In at least seventy-five per cent of the cases this will involve probation in the home of the child, or with relatives, or neighbors. Cases, when returned to the community, should either be dismissed, or placed on probation for an extended period, not less than one year.¹ If the probation staff is not large enough to do the work efficiently, it is better not to place the case on probation. To critics of probation it should be pointed out that probation, as a method conceived by the great leaders of juvenile court philosophy, has not yet been applied to any large number of juvenile delinquents.

Probation means a plan of social treatment car-

¹ Juvenile Court Standards Committee Report, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., Publication No. 121, 1923, pp. 7-9.

ried out in the community which enlists combined forces of home, school, church, settlements, playgrounds and other available social organizations working under skilled personal leadership for a central, well diagnosed goal. At stages in treatment conferences should be held, and results checked up. New guiding-lines should be followed as conditions alter. But above all, no one should lose sight of the child. He should not be buried under statistics, surveys, and court reports. He should be the one absorbing reality that would justify the endless words, and weight of social machinery used in his behalf. Probation officers often interpret their helpless confusion of thought, and their hurry to cover pages with "reports for Court" as something genuinely accomplished; as in the case of Chaucer's man:

"Nowhere a busier man than he thare was
And yet he seemth busier
Than he was."

The child has in no wise benefited by this "busyness."

The judge of the Juvenile Court should have wisdom and power to direct the plan of probation, with assistance of trained social workers as probation officers. Probation should enlist the services of our ablest men and women. As the entire Juvenile Court procedure is now in its infancy, and as the modern community is only just becoming awakened to the burden of delinquency under which it must be destroyed, if it cannot lift it from the shoulders of the young, we may expect growth of knowledge and sincerity of effort in the future.

CHAPTER VIII

MAKING GOOD

IN illness such as typhoid fever, to see a child grow every day weaker while disease gains headway until the crisis, which apparently attacks at moment of greatest weakness, is to wonder from what source the organism gets its strength to recover. Suddenly the tide which has been running out, begins to flow in; steadily the child gains in weight, color, presently is in better health than before the attack. In physical matters we are accustomed to the restorative energy of life and wait for it to assert itself when we are ill.

It is only partially true that delinquency can be likened to disease. Delinquency is a way of responding to the human situation, it involves the whole being,—heredity, physical make-up, intelligence, habits of emotional response, life history, interaction with other human beings and with nature. We no longer “explain” delinquency by reference to any one part of the child’s being or environment. It is the total situation, the entire stream which must be studied. That a boy who stole oranges, went to court and was “punished” by having his adenoids removed, is a joke frequently heard; modern court workers believe in restoring the child to the best possible health condition, to remove or alleviate physical handicaps, but they do not believe that bodily defects are a *cause* of delinquency; or

that feeble-mindedness, or psychopathic personality are *causes*.

These conditions frequently accompany delinquency, but they explain nothing until the entire individual as a living being is understood in process of adjusting itself to the outside world. What we term delinquency is in reality maladjustment or conflict. But use of these terms also is a mere matter of convenience; the description of results which have obscurely taken place. We know entirely too little about individuals who do not conform to our standards; we have studied interesting facts, what they can do and fail to do; we have studied the individual in cross sections, as static. The living delinquent gives us a new idea. We find he is not simple, and that "causes" do not explain him. The first word we should learn is *complexity*, and the next *caution*.

There are hints, however, about the nature of delinquency which we obtain from observation of physical disease; in each the organism is struggling to adjust itself, or to gain a working balance of forces. It is especially to psychiatry, that branch of medicine which deals with mental and nervous disorders, that we turn for enlightenment. The delinquent are not insane, but they contend with the same problems: that is to say, emotional cravings and outlets of energy which result in behavior, displeasing, or destructive to other human beings. Both delinquent and insane are out of joint with the community.¹

¹ This conception of insanity is taken from Dr. William White: "Mechanisms of Character Formation," and from Dr. Edward Kempf, to whom the writer expresses deep appreciation of the aid given to social workers dealing with the twin-problem of delinquency.

In treating delinquency the test of success is: Is the individual normally adjusted; can he carry on work, play and human relationships so that the community will not be injured by him? The amount of injury done by the restored delinquent can be estimated only when the community takes some action against him, such as taking him again to court, or caring for him in some public institution. We may assume that the average level of neighborhood conduct must be approximated by the delinquent, who has "made good," or he will be rejected. In estimating the number of juvenile delinquents who succeed, the social worker need not adopt a subjective moral standard, but should rely on the number actually tolerated, or absorbed by the community.

Do any cases make good absolutely according to the highest social standard available? There are striking cases of rehabilitation quoted. When one examines some of these recorded cases two things are evident: original delinquency has commonly been painted darker than it was in reality; (just as the human mind loves to paint sinners black, and restored sinners white, in every generation); second, the delinquent would often, by his very nature, have "made good," without treatment. Such cases figure large in hopeful speeches and reports of humanitarians. It is doubtful if any method of treatment has yet been evolved for delinquents that will make any individual at all times, industrious, respectful, unselfish, punctual, scrupulously honest and chaste, grateful and obedient to those in charge of him.

The fact of the matter is that as we study juvenile delinquency more, we are inclined to be-

lieve that success is in inverse ratio to age. The longer the process of conflict in the child has been going on with parents, school and community, the deeper the hurt, the more tenacious the habits of defense. What we learn of capacity for suffering in very young children teaches us that they are injured far more than perhaps we understand in homes, schools and neighborhoods that neglect, misuse, or failure to love or to discipline adequately. Damage may be irreparable. As we grow wiser in treatment, perhaps the best service, social workers can render will be to declare:

"Do not permit delinquency to occur: prevent at all costs the young child from entering this conflict. The cost is too great!"

This would mean a radical readjustment of public opinion. Certain homes we now break up would be subsidized by the state; certain very respectable homes, undoubtedly, would have to be smashed for the good of children. Some parents would be locked up for life, many schools put out of commission, innumerable new institutions built to house trouble-makers, and many present inmates of institutions taken out.

Meantime approximately two hundred thousand young persons, under eighteen years of age, passed through Juvenile Courts of the United States in 1923. The National Probation Association has computed that about seventy-five per cent of these were placed on probation; of this number approximately eighty per cent are reported as completing probation periods with success.¹

¹ See also Herbert C. Parsons: "Report of Commission on Probation. An Inquiry into the Permanent Results of Probation." Massachusetts Senate Document 431, March 15, 1924.

Of those placed in correctional schools there are varying estimates of resulting careers. Many institutions have poor "follow-up" systems, nothing can be known with certainty. Again most industrial schools lose track of wards at twenty-one. Schools have different standards of parole. Some term it violation of parole if the ward changes jobs, or place of residence without permission; bad companionship, tobacco, staying out late, failing to report, or to write letters to parole officer, neglecting to save money, public dance-halls, cosmetics, are reasons for returning girls to institutions in some instances. No distinction is made in some parole statistics of violation which has consisted in law breaking, or in infractions of regulations. It is instructive to note that practically no juvenile correctional schools report less than sixty per cent of successful paroles. The majority claim from seventy-five per cent to eighty-five per cent who make good. In certain instances ninety to ninety-five per cent of graduates of these schools have remained in the community with moderate success, that is to say, of one hundred boys and girls placed out, only from five to ten have required to be again returned to institutions.¹

No longer need we hesitate to affirm that the young delinquent can frequently attain satisfactory adjustment in the community under favorable conditions. The important point is not how many individuals make good, but what is the process?

Is there in delinquency a period like crises in certain diseases, after which the "patient gets well by

¹ See reports of State Training School for Girls, Gainesville, Texas, Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, Superintendent. State School for Boys, Whittier, California, Fred Nelles, Superintendent.

himself"? Can we point to a certain course of treatment and say with certainty *this* produced change for the better in the behavior of the delinquent? To students of human conduct it will cause no surprise to learn that *nothing* is known with assurance as to results of treatment we call *good*, or that which we stigmatize as *bad*. After two decades of would-be scientific treatment of delinquents we are still in the pre-scientific stage. In course of experimental handling, much of it grossly inadequate and conditioned by expediency, casual decisions, trial and error, placements by convenience, thrusting out of sight those whom we have ignorantly "destroyed," bringing into lime-light those who have "succeeded," we gain a kind of rough knowledge. Of all facts known to social workers about human life, facts which deal with changing human behavior yield up their secrets with the most reluctance. As we approach this field with humility born of failure and blundering, and with faith impelled by discarded humanity which has subsequently readjusted itself, we see certain principles at work. Successful cases present similarities, whether they occur in the community, or within institutions; this seems to hold true under widely different environmental and personal conditions.

It is convenient to name stages in process of "making good" as follows: insight, transference, development of personality, (growth of skill, clear ideas of new behavior-goals, and the *wish* for social esteem), development of new social relationships. The terms *insight* and *transference* are borrowed from psychiatry.¹ The social worker uses

¹ Kempf: "Psychopathology," pp. 378, 654.

them in no technical sense. They express what takes place after successful case-analysis. Insight is used by psychiatrists to denote the stage when the patient understands significant causes of his emotional and mental disturbance. The patient now faces himself consciously as a problem. The social worker must aid the delinquent to face himself.

To assist the delinquent to gain *insight*, the social worker does not proceed on any special theory, or use any special technique. The child's condition physical and mental, will be diagnosed by expert medical and psychological service. If possible study by a psychiatrist should be made; even in "normal" individuals, delinquency involves emotional conflict, and denotes some maladjustment, if due to no other cause than placing the child in the attitude of delinquency. The case-study, as understood by social workers, should be thorough. No stone should be left unturned to find out all there is to be known about that child's companions, love-objects, home, school, work, church and neighborhood experiences. Never, as Mary Richmond¹ has pointed out, will there be time to make up for mistakes and gaps in first knowledge of the case. The social worker with delinquents should build a solid structure of facts upon which he can afterwards rely, in seeming catastrophies, when it may be necessary to make "snap-judgments," and give emergency treatment, as for example when the child runs away, it should be known in advance to whom he is most likely to turn for aid and comfort, what personalities or obstacles he is seeking to evade. In case-study the emphasis should be on the *child as*

¹ "Social Diagnosis."

experiencing. It does no good to count the bricks or number the articles of furniture in the child's home, or the decaying branches on the family tree. It is not home, school, church or neighborhood conditions, as such, that are important, but the child as a living, responding, growing human being in midst of forces and personalities. Case-work contains much dead wood. It is not that facts are unimportant; the most humble facts may carry the key to the child's delinquency, but there must be creative interpretation of facts. The social worker must study the case until it is clear; that is to say, until motives for the young delinquent's conduct have touched the social worker's imagination, and he can personally comprehend the delinquency. True understanding, or *insight*, must come to adult before it can come to child.

There are children whose mentality, or emotional make-up, is such that they cannot take an objective view of conduct, hence cannot see themselves as problems, or arrive at *insight*. When a child begins to ask himself: "Why did I do that? Why did I *wish* to do it? Exactly what did I seek to gain? Am I sorry? Would I rather have peace and security, the good opinion of 'good' people, or would I do this forbidden thing over again?" the process is at work. These questions will be put by the social worker into the mind of the delinquent, at first without reference to moral good or evil. Gradually the nature of the child's cravings will be discovered. In cases of girl and boy delinquents these cravings are not usually so complex, or foreign to average humanity that they cannot readily be understood. Where embarrassment, shame or rebellion exist, or where the child shows

the danger-signal of the shut-in personality, it will be necessary to turn again to psychologist or psychiatrist.

Gradually, under guidance of the experienced social worker, insight into motives comes almost without effort to the normal child. For example, in Chapter II we saw that Vivian had temper tantrums and impulses to burn buildings, causes of which she was unaware. When she saw that these displays were an attempt to gain notice and affection from her mother, and that her mother could not be induced to change her life for her child, Vivian coöperated in a plan of school-work which resulted in normal conduct. Insight is known by behavior. There is no embarrassment; the child talks freely. There is no obstacle in flow of confidence from child to social worker. There is relief in attitude. The child usually shows enthusiasm for "beginning over again," for "taking another chance," is more vital in responses, as if some new source of energy had been tapped. For sensitive children this is the golden period for reconstructive treatment. It is known to probation officers and workers in juvenile reformatories every day.

"Gee! I'll never do *that* again. I see it in a new light now; wait till I get out of here, you'll see I'll make good" are expressions that mark the stage of insight?

Until there is awareness, the attitude popularly described as *coöperation* cannot emerge. Social workers recognize the danger of entering upon a program of treatment before coöperation of the client is secured. Coöperation depends, not only on "confidence" but upon degree of *insight* which the client has reached, with reference to his own

problems of conduct and motive. In dealing with delinquent children *insight* should proceed treatment; in serious behavior difficulties no child should be placed on probation or restored to the community without it. Emergency care, such as court hearings, detention home, temporary boarding home placement, hospital treatment, or "probation" of a sort which aims at mere suppression of another outbreak, may be necessary, pending social diagnosis. No final plan of social treatment of delinquency should be undertaken until *insight* has arrived.

The social worker need not enter the field of scientific discussion as to what has taken place. One school will explain that what has previously been unconsciously motivated has now been raised from the unconscious to the conscious. The fact that the child feels relief, is ready to coöperate, or as in cases cited by Freud, is cured of disease, is explained as due to the so-called therapeutic function of consciousness. What concerns the social worker is that the delinquent child is enabled through *insight* to enter the process which leads to formation of new social relationships. Something has happened which adds to capacity and appreciation for social values. It appears to be due, not so much to the fact that the *child* is now conscious of his real motives, as that he knows that another has shared his emotional experiences without condemning him. This *sharing*, this *awareness* of his difficulties by another personality who appears to the child wise, simple and good, is apparently the force which robs the experience of its power to isolate and to damage the child's spirit. Explanation of the feeling of security and peace, the power to

make an effort is found when it is remembered that the delinquency expresses *conflict*. There is no loneliness more isolating than that of the delinquent child whose cravings and whose wish for adult approval and support are at war. Whether this takes form of feeling of inferiority, or appears as rebellion, or depredation, makes no essential difference; the result is isolation. The social worker, who in comprehending the child's motives, makes him realize their universal human values, has "cured" isolation. The child now is conscious of the general human predicament.

To make this matter entirely clear: when a boy steals a bicycle and runs away, he may tell his probation officer where he put it, what make it was, how he took it apart and hid the pieces beneath the porch; how he lied to parents, how he outwitted its owner. All this is a mere "confession" and reveals nothing except that the probation officer has secured his "confidence." When this boy can tell his probation officer that he thinks his parents do not love him, that he is jealous of his older brother who succeeds in school, that in some mysterious way he felt a thrill of relief in stealing and running away, the basis for insight has been secured. If then, he becomes aware that jealousy and yearning are not uncommon, that the objects of affection will treat him better if he gives up the struggle and seeks supremacy in athletics, or some field where he can excel, his energy has been set free.

Transference is another stage in process of making good. The case-study has revealed the child's love-objects, persons and things which arouse his warm interest and affection. It is evident that the love-object may be harmful, unattainable, or anti-

social. It is the social worker's function to assist the child in fixing attention to some love-objects that will not destroy him. *Transference*, as the term is used in psychiatry, describes rapport between the patient and the doctor who has succeeded in making an analysis of the patient's difficulty. The social worker uses the word in a broader sense, to mean any love-object capable of aiding treatment. *Transference* may be to a parent, relative, teacher or companion; it may extend to some animal pet, or hobby; it may turn toward the social worker. There is nothing esoteric about this process. It is natural that the child's warmth and glow of new self-confidence, his discovery of an understanding personality, will express itself in affection. This is the explanation of those "crushes" and sentimental attachments that are seen in all schools and institutions. If the social worker does not absorb this energy, or permit the child to become emotionally dependent, the *transference* may be beneficial. The social worker then becomes the wise counselor, one who provides vivid contacts with reality, who points out healthy channels of energy and expression. If the social worker is selfish, or unenlightened, if his personality is not, in reality, beyond that of the child, there will be waste, or even moral collapse. The adult who ignorantly appropriates the child's affection, and interprets this access of courage, gayety, enthusiasm and vigor, as something *caused personally* by himself, is committing a serious mistake, if not something worse. *Transference* should be used constructively, and put to service for the *cure*, not the further emotional dependence of the child. Often the *transfer-*

ence will be assisted by the social worker to attach itself to some member of the home-circle.

This occurred in the case of Elizabeth. She was a girl of fourteen with an intelligence quotient of one hundred and eight per cent. Her father was a migratory cook, rancher and loafer. When the girl was six her parents were divorced, Elizabeth going with her mother who worked as waitress and chamber-maid in lumber towns. Elizabeth became troublesome and was placed by her mother, at the age of eight, in a state correctional school where she was "forgotten" for four years. The father had moved to another state, married a woman on parole from a hospital for the insane; Elizabeth's mother had disappeared. In sorting out inmates of the state school Elizabeth was "discovered" by the authorities and shipped to her father. She was now twelve. For two years she lived in her father's home with her aged grandmother and insane stepmother. She became delinquent with boys; aided by her grandmother's religious ideas and her own contact with members of a new cult, she developed a psychosis. She had alternating periods of depression in which she fancied herself the worst of sinners, and periods of grandeur in which she claimed to be the wife of a famous moving picture hero. Placed by court in an opportunity school for girls her conduct was so bad that she was expelled. She reverted to habits of a child of three; in matters of personal hygiene she became a nuisance, soiling and wetting her clothing, refusing to bathe, etc. Elizabeth was placed under observation in the detention home and a thorough study was made. She improved, gained the wish to do better; her intelligence

facilitated the process of *insight*. After three months her father's sister arrived. This aunt was a simple, kindly, maternal woman who refused to believe her niece "abnormal." She maintained that Elizabeth was a normal girl who had never been "given a chance." She insisted on taking her home. Elizabeth developed affection for her aunt, and has remained for over a year without delinquency or lapses of personal hygiene.¹

Another stage in restoring the delinquent is development of personality through acquisition of new skill and activities. The story of Mildred under supervision of the Child Guidance Clinic² sets forth the process which parallels that of many successful cases in Juvenile Court experience. Here the child in her own home is aided to discover skill, new ways of meeting responsibility, unexpected resources within herself. Succeeding in home tasks, school work, learning gardening, sports, arts, crafts, nature, books, music, caring for younger children, animals, earning money, doing well in employment, all tend to enrich personality by giving it power to expand and to control new fields. There need be no special talent or ability discovered; all that is essential is for the child to feel satisfaction in doing some new thing well. He derives fresh mastery, courage and tokens of adult approval.

With increased confidence born of new activities

¹ This case in detail was presented by the writer at the National Conference of Social Workers, Policewoman's Section, Washington, D. C., May, 1923.

² *Survey Magazine*, New York, February, 1924. See also "Three Problem Children," 1924, published by Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, The Commonwealth Fund, 50 East 42nd Street, New York.

the young delinquent is in a better social position. He possesses the coin that wins his way. He is ready to enter new social relationships. When these are satisfactorily cemented, the adjustment is complete; the delinquent and the community can get along together.

The delinquent now fits into home or foster-home; he enters into social affairs, church, club, union, settlements, night classes, big brother and big sister organizations, camps, scouts, friendly circles and other neighborhood groups, or if his temperament does not require social intercourse, it is sufficient that he is no longer rejected; he is reconciled to his human family.

In the Biblical account of the return of the prodigal son we note that he was not reunited to his whole family group; his brother felt resentment; doubtless this hostility in time would have yielded if the prodigal had brought home any new songs or began to bestir himself in his brother's vineyard. It has been remarked by Orfa Jean Shontz¹ that there is no parable of return of the prodigal daughter, yet modern work among delinquent girls shows a number of successes, all the more astonishing in face of hostile public opinion and harshness of judgment.

When lives of these girls are studied, they must be taken whole. It is our custom to view cases in cross-sections; we over-emphasize success, and failure. Lives of most of us show hills and valleys; in growth of personality there is no uniform advance, the spirit has its plateaux and underground rivers. In successful lives a certain amount of fail-

¹ First woman Referee of the Juvenile Court, appointed 1915, Los Angeles, California. Paper read at Conference of Social Work, San Diego, April, 1922.

ure is permissible. In lives of delinquent girls the slump is swiftly penalized. As we learn more of human conduct we will take a longer view of these apparent failures, and will not permit them to blind the community as to what is taking place in reality, a gradual reconstruction. There is such a thing as "triumphing from failure to failure," as some one has said.

Sally is a girl of sixteen. She is married, has a healthy, well cared for baby, a ranch with chickens, pigs and goats, a pretty bungalow, an automobile, a husband with fine mustachios. When she was first brought to Juvenile Court she was twelve, a frail child with spinal curvature, twitching movements and weak heart. Her intelligence was dull average. She had temper tantrums, beat and scratched her mother, who was an invalid, swore at her stepfather, who was blind, refused to go to school, was cruel to animals, even putting them to death, was incorrigible in three private homes. Study of this case revealed a girl with craving for dressing up and showing off; there were other symptoms of self-love and infantile desires which her mother's illness and stepfather's harshness had fostered. Placed in a twenty-four hour school, her behavior was a source of anxiety to her teachers, her profanity, temper and running away seemed to yield to no one save the superintendent, and in periods of jealousy this woman could not control her. She was not a success at the school, yet gained there a true picture of her home situation and herself (for several weeks she was under daily observation by the psychologist), physical restoration, knowledge of gardening and home-making, and a genuine basis for self-confidence.

Suddenly she ran away with a young man, a chance "pick-up." He kept her overnight, then took her to her parents, who literally threw her out. She was again brought before the court. Obsessed with the idea that she was to have a child, she pleaded to be allowed to go to her sister, a young married girl of twenty. In this home Sally saw happy married love for the first time in her life. She became devoted to her sister's baby and gave up her fancies of being pregnant. There were some backslidings, but nothing catastrophic until Sally, with final gesture of independence, ran away with a rancher whom she captivated in a single visit, as is the short-cut custom of the delinquent girl. They were married immediately. Over fourteen months have passed. Sally is a patient, hard-working mother and wife; every trace of waywardness has vanished as if it had never been. Her devotion to child and husband, gentleness with animals, can be observed daily, together with her pride in her worldly possessions. She is a normal member of her community; her past history could not be guessed by the most experienced.

In this case, in spite of the fact that the young sister could offer little supervision, or wisdom of treatment, and in view of the fact that Sally's conduct amply justified a correctional school commitment, the court placed her in the one situation where it was possible for her to enter normal, constructive human relationships. Her career in the average institution would probably have resulted in rioting, further delinquency, and a fixed psychopathic personality.

It is a commonplace among workers with delinquent girls that one cannot without injury reveal

case-histories of those who are most striking examples of recovery. If a man has "been through" double pneumonia, or an operation, he and his physician are glad to talk about the cure. If a man has recovered from a "nervous breakdown," he is not adverse to dwelling on his former insomnia and "blues," in light of present-day vigorous efficiency. The conqueror of germs and nerves feels no disgrace in recounting victory. If a man has been restored from insanity he is likely not to talk about it. The community is still suspicious of insanity. Nor will his physician use his case where it can be identified, particularly if the attack has been severe or the patient now holds a prominent place. In delinquency it is almost fatal to reveal enough social data to permit identification. Bandits, train robbers, murderers, bank swindlers, can, after prison terms, "come back," as heroes, even to becoming popular evangelists, and platform speakers. The public is easily assured that reformation has taken place. But a girl who has given herself to many lovers, has suffered disease, abandonment and rough handling, is not expected to reform. If subsequently she becomes a healthy, charming woman, devoted to children and husband, she must lose her identity or her prosperity will vanish. Social workers understand this and reserve their "best cases" until the time arrives of better enlightenment in the community.

This reserve has its dangers. The public cannot believe until they see. Some day there will have to be a Clifford Beers (feminine) for delinquent girls, as there has been for mental disease.¹

¹ See Clifford Beers, author of "The Mind That Found Itself."

A girl abandoned in infancy by both parents, adopted into a worthless family, abused and forced into a laundry before she was fourteen, seduced by a moving picture director when she tried to sell a scenario, "given" by the director to one of his friends, who in turn passed her on to those to whom he had business obligations,—stage-hands, men of different race; finally after six months of passive delinquency, brought before court at fifteen, infected, bewildered, apathetic, exhausted. The same girl at twenty, married, a careful mother, a member of the best social circles, wife of a prominent man, a woman who possesses charm, taste, gentleness of manner, insight, and an ability to serve other young people whom she has an especial gift in reaching,—is one illustration of successful case-work.

The daughter of an insane mother and brutal father, put into domestic service in early teens, became a persistent thief and runaway, a girl of filthy personal hygiene, suspicious, moody, several times before the court for violations, has now reached an adjustment as thrifty housewife.

A girl architect, now twenty-three, married to an artist, living quietly in a small town, was formerly a "disorderly person"; at sixteen she led a riot in a reformatory, smashing and burning; from a leather strait-jacket, strapped to a cot, she hurled vile language and defiance at her attendants; at seventeen she had disappeared for several months to live as a prostitute in the colored district. This girl finished high school, took a technical course, and now free from physical disease or trace of manners of the underworld, she earns a competent salary in her profession, and is furnishing her home with

pictures and draperies of quiet, significant taste.

In these four cases adjustment has endured for a length of time sufficient to predict success. In each, marriage was the determining factor.

Girls who "make good" do not always marry. Sometimes they are quietly assimilated into their own homes; this requires the greatest skill of which the social worker is capable. Other girls form social relationships outside domestic life and appear to thrive.

There is an increasing proportion of delinquent girls who succeed in industry. Thomas, in the Unadjusted Girl, has called attention to the number of girls in business and club life who have found security or recognition and need no other social relationship. These girls may enjoy masculine society, but express themselves best in their work and economic independence.

Isabel was a tubercular girl who became delinquent with boys and on several occasions forged checks. She always dressed in latest style and showed taste, not to win attention from boys and men, but as necessary expression of her being. A year's study developed the fact that she was struggling for a motor and esthetic success. Three years' trial and error in the community have resulted in securing a successful program. Isabel learned to operate a power machine, she became the fastest piece-work operator in the factory. She demanded higher wages, and walked out. She secured a new job at better pay. She went to night school, studied design, and perfected a new mechanical short-cut in her machine. Again she demanded more money. She was dressed in a slim

tailored frock with faultless lines, a fur coat, slender satin shoes and chiffon hose.

"What do you want more money *for*?" asked the exasperated manufacturer. "You're getting more now than any girl I ever had!"

"Do you think I can look the way I do on your old eighteen dollars and a half a week? You bet not, and go straight, see?"

Isabel reached for her becoming hat. She was given twenty dollars. She attended two public dances a week, dancing until exhausted. The other nights were occupied with night school, and home piece work for private customers. Strange to say, her health, which had been poor, improved. There was a restless flame at work in her, but she showed no sign of biological decay. She never repeated her delinquencies with men, though on two occasions she ran up big bills in clothing stores; she ultimately paid these herself. Isabel changed her job six times until she finally went into partnership in a silk underwear factory. She is contented. For a year she was president of a business girls' club. She has a quiet scorn of anything she considers "low" or "common"; she still goes to night school, and has as goal ownership of her own shop. To other court girls, Isabel is a constant incentive.

One group of girls rarely make good: those who are permanently self-satisfied, suspicious of others, willing to make trouble by carrying unpleasant remarks, their excuse being always: "Well, it is *true*;" she said it;" girls who are unable to be frank, or candid, who risk little, but use every chance opening to their own advantage, girls who flatter and imitate their probation officers and attendants, but secretly

undermine authority, girls who are selfish, cool, cautious, sarcastic, and immoveably self-righteous. They make remarkable inmates of correctional schools, for they always "snitch," and are usually neat and industrious. Kempf has noted that among the mentally disturbed there is small chance of recovery for the patient who displays hatred or prolonged antagonism.¹ This is equally true of delinquents. These smug, snobbish girl trouble-makers openly show hate, their reaction is supercilious, and they wish to injure their fellows. Their acts of delinquency comprise petit larceny, slashing and snipping clothes, concealment of valuable objects, forgery, blackmail, swindling, and sordid relations with men, nothing bold,—it usually suits them to go with married men, or "pick-ups." They usually believe they are "playing safe." It is not the *kind* of delinquency they commit which keeps them from "making good." It is because they can never see themselves as problems, never take criticism, or "feel remorse." They apparently do well under supervision, but they are rarely, if ever, sincere; the essential personal attributes remain, cruel and destructive.

One of the obstacles to permanent adjustment of delinquent girls is too close supervision. Constant watchfulness, ready-made plans, excessive advice, free help in time of trouble, a kind of fussy, brooding anxiety tends to make a girl on probation either helpless or rebellious. She cannot cast off her crutches. To workers, who know the dearth of good probation work throughout the country, this may cause a smile; but there is vast difference between slackness, ignorance, indifferent neglect,

¹ Kempf: "Psychopathology," pp. 516, 550.

which one sees constantly among probation officers and social workers, and an intelligent, sturdy policy of faith and non-interference with natural processes of growth.

Clouston, in his *Neuroses of Development*, has shown how many nervous manifestations in adolescence yield to sheer growth, and get well of themselves. This is true of delinquency which so often is handled better by the indirect than the direct method.

Young people must be given a chance to make decisions and to reap *natural* (not arbitrarily imposed) consequences of their mistakes. After the process of adjustment has been soundly rooted in good case-work, the best service that can be rendered the young delinquent is opportunity for trial and error, the chance to make minor failures without being crushed. . . .

In this treatment of the most complex section of the problem of delinquency we have tried to show that adjustments are possible, under favorable conditions, for cases previously described as hopeless. With extended knowledge and real work, the number of cases that "make good" can be multiplied beyond anything now demonstrated in any community.

The process includes *insight, transference*, development of personality, and increased social relationships. It must not be understood that these stages, or levels, have any arbitrary sequence; they may occur almost simultaneously. In this field there are "miracles," i.e., swift transformations of personality which we are too ignorant to understand, but which Christ understood very well. Mere provision of "good conditions," routine, better economic and

social measures, regimen, good health, opportunities for companionship and recreation, "respectability" in the environment, are of little avail, unless the central springs of the living spirit have been somehow tapped. The process is usually that of slow, natural growth; to build "moral muscle" requires time. Impatience for results may lead to disaster. Faith, tolerance, belief in life, are the chief requisites in the social worker who wishes to assist young delinquents in "making good."

CHAPTER IX

THE VALUE OF CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

WILLIAM PENN in 1615 introduced a fundamental reform in prison life,—the principal of activity. He believed idleness in imprisonment an evil cruelty. His establishment of the first work-house for convicted prisoners was an humanitarian reform that should rank with the great alleviations of history. Only those who know prisons can appreciate the damage inflicted on human beings by enforced idleness. William Penn's idea was that work trains character, hence a man might be benefited by imprisonment. This idea was developed by Edward Livingstone, among the first to become interested in the problem of training offenders, author of the Code of Prison Discipline, which was adopted by the State of Louisiana in 1827. He was convinced that crime is "the effect principally of intemperance, idleness, ignorance, vicious associations, irreligion and poverty, not of any defective natural organization."¹ By means of the Code he expected to organize an efficient system of character training; he succeeded in laying the foundations of our American prison regulations, but as a means of correctional education, the code has failed. It failed because he was so sure that "*natural organization*," by which we may now understand *personality*, can be turned from habits

¹ Cited by Francis L. Dunham, "Proceedings Annual Congress of American Prison Association, 1921," p. 192.

of "intemperance, idleness, ignorance . . . irreligion," and the rest, by enforced repetition of acts of temperance, industry and piety. Modern correctional education, at least for juvenile delinquents, has recognized that this is not true; it seeks to modify behavior, not by mechanical means, but by developing personality.

In the famous romance of Monte Cristo, the young officer enters prison an unformed, ignorant soldier; in twenty years he emerges a polished man of the world, speaking many languages, possessing wisdom and the key to power. This, of course, was hardly the intention of his jailer; it was due to lapse in prison discipline which resulted in contact with a convict who was a great teacher.

Modern correctional education for young offenders has made vast gain over the practice and theory of the old idea of reformation. This was possible only when the correctional institution banished the idea of *punishment*. As long as the "inmates" were believed to be in custody for the sake of making them suffer some penalty, pain, loss or inconvenience, to "*pay back*" for the wrong they had been "convicted" of, no genuine educational progress was possible. The attitude of mind of those who administered the institution virtually made impotent any educational idea. Docility, work, play, athletic drill, eating, reciting, and the like, resembled nothing so much as the performance of wild animals in the circus. "Obedience" vanished at first opportunity, and in free life, after the institution, no trace remained of those habit-patterns of neatness, respect, thrift, industry, that had been with so much effort, supposedly stamped into the very tissues. At the core of every institution run on

the theory of punishment, is an unsoundness that vitiates whatever within the place may chance to be cultural or educational. The same, of course, was true of "asylums" for insane, until theory of hopeless depravity and deterioration was made to give way to the modern desire to *cure* the patient. In hospitals for those whom our confusion of mind labels the "*criminally insane*," we still find stultifying darkness.

So-called reformatories for juvenile offenders existed in America before Juvenile Courts, from the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were quasi-penal, quasi-monastic; those for girls were "sheltered" behind brick walls,—"*Magdalen Houses*," for the "young, penitent female sinner." Within were cells, bars, tolling bells, wooden floors reeking of soap-suds, curious stocks, strait-jackets, leathern straps, and other aids to penitence. As modern scientific research evolved the idea of human conduct, as something *caused*, and as the modern movement for the conservation of childhood, developed the Juvenile Court, these dismal, congregate institutions were replaced by home-like boarding schools for boys and girls, in need of state education. With Juvenile Court legislation, the legal meaning of commitment to a state industrial, or training, school becomes a simple matter of transfer of guardianship from parents to the school. Commitment is made solely on the basis of welfare of the child. In some states, notably in California, a commitment has been held illegal if the court does not state expressly that it was made for the *welfare of the child*.¹ It is legally required

¹ California cases, Appellate Decisions. *In re David Brodie*, 33 Calif. App. 751, May, 1917.

that the *care, custody and discipline should be as nearly as may be that which should have been given by the parents.* So far from being a punitive measure, all that a commitment now means to administrators of our best state training schools, is the protection and authority the state throws around a handicapped child throughout the period of education and growth.

Correctional education for young delinquents will be a success, when it turns out graduates equipped to live normally in the community, with the energy necessary to weather the difficulties of everyday economic and social life. It will not be blinded by what may be described as the institution-fallacy, that a well managed, orderly, disciplined set of "inmates," and a systematic program, constitute "character-building." Probably nothing is easier to attain than an efficient institutional regimen, as far as surface is concerned. Institutions, in the hands of energetic, capable managers tend to static perfection. The difficult thing is to breathe into them breath of life. If the social goal of the institution be held clearly in view, if it be remembered that within a few months, or years, or in any case at end of minority, the individual *returns* to unrestricted social life, there will not be so much insistence on petty details. Certain great goals will be sought, and the school will become a threshold.

The major problems of correctional school life are physical education, academic and vocational education, personality adjustment, and sharing group-life in the spirit of social solidarity. Before any progress can be made in any of these fields it is essential that the child be *individualized*.

The court commitment will have contained pre-

sumably a case-study of the child; as a form of case-study to be conveniently used in behavior difficulties the following is suggested:

Name Age Religion Date Nativity School Grade

Physical:

Laboratory tests

Sight

Hearing

Nutrition

General Organic Development

Diseases

Appearance

Outlook for Health

Mental:

Intelligence Quotient

Mental Age

Retardation

General Ability

Learning Ability

Motor Activity

Vocational Preferences

Kind of school work

Mental content, ideas, etc.

etc.

Personal Traits:

Responsiveness

Egocentrism

Loyalty

Kindliness

Reaction to group life

Imagination

Adventure

Rebellion

Lethargy

Reaction to recreation

Excitement

Love-objects

Chronological:

Birthplace

Infancy

Homes or institutions

Places with relatives

Jobs held

Dates of schools; entrance and transfer

Illness

Important events and personalities encountered

Behavior Difficulties:

Exact statement of what, when: and of the treatment previously given.

Background:

What constructive and what destructive elements are present, in:

Heredity

Church

Family Life

Companionship

Recreation

Social conditions

Neighborhood

Work record

Direct Causation:

State if:

1. Physical

5. Personal difficulties

2. Mental

6. Social conditions

3. Family Life

7. A combination of some or all of them

4. Companionship

Treatment Proposed:

Home placement

Adjustment, state details of

Exact nature of probation

Institutions

Outlook:

Definite statement of prognosis:

But this is insufficient. There should be a case-study covering a sufficient period to really individualize. If a project method is advisable for the average child, it is absolutely essential for the delinquent; nothing can be done for him *en masse*. The delinquent must be vividly realized as a separate unit-organism. The staff conference method is the best way to individualize the child after commitment. Instead of filing away sheets of information from physician, social worker and psychologist, they should be made to live and be put to work.

The following outline of procedure has been found useful in one school for girls. The time given to each case is from two to six hours. The members of the conference are seated around a table; the girl does not appear until she wishes to present some request.

Conference

1. Judge, or Referee, gives summary of the court history.
2. Probation officer gives summary of report.
3. Report of the field worker who gives the case-study proper.
4. Superintendent of the detention home gives summary of result of observation, of school, work, play, behavior and attitude during detention.
5. Physician of the Juvenile Court.

Summary of the physical record; diagnosis, recommendation and prognosis.

6. Report of the Psychologist. Result of the tests; statement of emotional attitude, interests, information, love-objects, etc. Note: if the psychologist or physician have recommended this case to the study of a psychiatrist, the psychiatrist at this point gives his diagnosis, or if he is unable to attend the conference, sends his written report.
7. Report of superintendent of the correctional school.
 - a. Why case was accepted:
 - (1) Date of entrance,
 - (2) Department assigned,
 - (3) When initiated into student body or given part in student government program,
 - (4) Room assigned; companionship,

- (5) Special facts of behavior observed,
- (6) Most pressing problem as presented by girl.
- 8. Report of Project Director (one of the officers of the school who assumes responsibilities of coordinating the girls' program in the light of the conference).
 - a. Summary of School activities,
 - b. Attitude,
 - c. Report of Efficiency Committee (see page 206),
 - d. Recreation,
 - e. Special facts of behavior observed,
 - f. Most pressing problem as presented by girl,
- 9. Report of Principal of School, within the institution.
 - a. Educational status,
 - b. School conduct,
 - c. Observation of attitude,
 - d. Diagnosis of educational abilities and needs.
- 10. Student body representative (who has been excluded during the above, but who comes into conference for the length of time it takes her to give her report).
 - a. Attitude of girl to her fellow students,
 - b. Attitude of fellow students to girl,
 - c. Facts of personality: what is done in free time,
 - d. Summary of chief needs,
 - e. Suggestions and recommendations.
- 11. Full discussion by members of the conference. One member, the psychologist, or some one qualified by experience and training to give a concise, interpretative description, now sums up the case, and gives a tentative diagnosis, avoid-

ing use of the label, and striving for clear expression of actual behavior. This procedure is of incalculable value in training those who deal with the delinquent to make genuine observation and description a substitute for the usual vague use of words like "awful," "rotten temper," "insolent," "surly," "sulky," "disobedient," etc.

(Each member of round table is asked to contribute a suggestion as to policy or project.)

12. Statement of a tentative project, worked out in detail so the officers of the institution, and the girl herself, can follow it.
13. Statement of prognosis, or outlook.

A stenographer is present and takes the main points in the proceeding. Copies are made for all members of the conference.¹

After the diagnosis, project and outlook have been recorded, the girl is placed in some departmental work of the school; she now enters upon an individual program of work, study, play, companionship, the responsibility for which rests upon an individual teacher, or counselor, known as the Project Director. At intervals of three to six months there is a re-hearing, and records of individual teachers as to discipline or treatment are scrutinized. Changes are made as the girl seems to thrive, or to droop at the school. At the re-hearing usually enough information has been gathered to make some sort of personality chart. This is useful not so much to add to our knowledge of the child, but it may serve to make the matrons and teachers do some constructive thinking:

¹ El Retiro School for Girls, San Fernando, Los Angeles County, California.

Personality Study

Personal Hygiene Habits:

Cleanliness of body
Bedwetting, etc.

Clothes
Menstruation

Facial Expression:

Happy or unhappy
Alert
Indifferent

Strained
Bored

Mannerisms:

Speech
Gait
Twitching

Awkward
Gesture

Use of Language:

Obscene
Slang
Profanity

Unusual choice of
words

Play Habits:

Thing most usually done in free time:

Sports

Music

Games

Dramatics

Leadership. Easily tired
Talking. (In group, alone,
with girls or in general
conversation with girls
and adults.)

Energy level—constant
or sluggish

Marked fluctuations

Love of solitude or companionship

Work Habits:

Kind done

Punctuality

Delay

Preference expressed

Any ability to plan

Excuses

Skill

Promptness

Easily tired

Neatness

Resourcefulness

School Work:

Attention	Interest
Ability	Progress

What can the individual do with the hands:

Sewing	Hand-craft, etc.
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Other Outlets:

Singing	Pranks
Lies	Pets
Stealing	Insolence
Dancing	Display
Cheating	Noise
Love of nature	

Emotional Attitudes:

Anger	Enthusiasm
Desire for affection	Attitude when criticized
Loyalty	Antagonism
Jealousy	Sensitivity
Secretive	Timidity
Fear	"Moody"
Cruelty	

What interests most:

Reading	Eating habits and table manners
Attitude toward church attendance	Religion

Love-objects:

Family	Adults
Girls	Pets or hobbies
Boys	

Any expressed plan:

Immediate present	One year
Six months	Life

Emphasis should be placed on physical education of the correctional school. A good medical program will remedy so far as possible physical con-

ditions due to adenoids, tonsils, malnutrition, venereal disease, defective teeth, eyes, ears, etc., will give study and treatment in cases of glandular disharmonies and deficiency, will give special attention to diet, stressing the protective foods, milk and fresh fruits and vegetables, (delinquent children, especially girls, are notoriously adverse to these foods and will not eat them without a special incentive), but the chief concern will be formation of attitudes and habits of vigorous, joyous health. Modern physicians realize that health is an affair of the spirit, the emotions, and can be realized in spite of physical defects. Crippled children often show this courageous affirmation, and occasionally there are adult, well-adjusted "healthy" invalids. Sagging posture, drooping lips, shoulders, the let-down of the muscles, indicate that feelings of discouragement, failure and inferiority are at work. Of what use is daily drill, or fitting eyes to glasses if the child cannot lift up his face in confidence and joy? The correctional school must introduce novel methods of physical education especially appealing.¹ Daily shower baths, rough and tumble play, dancing, spirited gymnastics, joyous out-of-door life are found in some of our best schools.² The result, if united with enlightened medical attention, is a constructive program of physical development. It is not too much to say that the entire institutional program of the future correctional school will be built around the playground, the gymnasium, the swimming pool, dining room and sleeping porch.

¹ A splendid illustration of this type of physical education is seen at the Frances Parker School, San Diego, under the direction of Abdallah ben Tahar.

² For a survey of correctional schools of girls in the United States, see *Survey Graphic*, June, 1922, pp. 361-376.

In this way will be built up that vigor of life which is necessary to successful adjustment. Within the institution there should be outlet for self-expression, arts and crafts, dramatic production, pageants, interior decoration, landscape gardening, pottery, weaving, toy-making and many other things. For, the chief contribution of the correctional school cannot be made in the field of morals; what will really count in the outside world is: *how has the child learned to enjoy itself in free-time?* What does it do when it is *let alone?*

Academic education in the average state correctional school suffers from ill-trained, uncredited teachers, overwork on the part of pupils in institution labor, and from isolation from the main currents of modern education. These defects often cripple the entire process. Correctional schools should have better teachers than other schools, if the damage caused by previous lack of schooling and educational blunders is to be repaired. The instructors should be qualified educators, plus training in mental hygiene. Above all they should be personally adapted to deal with delinquents. Methods of study should be individual; some form of project method is desirable. Competition in the usual sense should not be permitted, since it is likely to be both dangerous and ineffectual in the cases of children laboring under behavior difficulties. The curriculum should contain vital subject matter, and be as plastic as possible. The teacher in a school for delinquents is given unusual opportunity of working with the whole child, mind, body, spirit; she cannot so readily forget his outside interests, ambitions, likes and dislikes. His personality is likely to be better revealed, if she is at all alert,

than in the day school, where he is swallowed up into city streets the moment he leaves the door, and where his home-life is unknown.

Thus it is that students in correctional schools, often learn in one year, the routine tasks of two or three. It is becoming more common in good state schools to erect special educational buildings, well equipped, to employ only first rate teachers, to conduct small classes, virtually each child receiving individual instruction, and to limit the number of "school sacrifices." (In institutional vocabulary a school sacrifice describes the practice of keeping students out of school to do institutional work.) With increased use of labor-saving devices, and with better trained officials, institutional work, which used to be a survival of antiquated household processes, absorbing the strength of child and adult, has now been reduced, and the student is not so likely to fall asleep in school, or to be drafted in the middle of a recitation to scrub the kitchen floor. In the better state schools, the program is so arranged that freshest hours of the day are given to school, and the other activities are interspersed.

Correct educational placement, use of vivid teaching methods that awaken and stimulate interest in mental work, are the chief tasks of the academic instructor in schools for juvenile delinquents. The most liberally progressive systems should be tried out here. Whether boards of education will ever take over state training and correctional schools, or whether they will continue to be run under separate boards of managers, is not so important a question, as the kind of teaching and teachers they are actually employing. Every type of educational resource is needed, from provision

for training the retarded and defective, to enlightened opportunities for the superior normal, and occasionally the genius.

Preparation for vocation is a moot problem. It used to be thought the chief business of such institutions was to "teach a trade." We are living in a period of rapid and profound industrial change. "Giant power" is making everyday life over.¹ Home, farm and shop tasks are now done by machinery. Mechanical routine performance is at a premium, and experts tell us that the ability to tend a machine, or perform simple mechanical operations is quickly acquired and best learned in industry itself. The reason why some of our young people fail in industry is not because they do not know enough, but because they are disinterested, listless, or have behavior difficulties. In other words, they have not the right personal adjustment. No amount of training in an institution can be transferred to the wholly different atmosphere of the factory. The best vocational preparation a correctional institution can give is to furnish a variety of stimulating "vocational glimpses," fascinating attempts in pottery, dyeing, weaving, hand-craft, metal work, carpentry, painting, millinery, dress-making, agriculture. Tools and machines should be modern, the cultural values, the human relations of each industry pointed out. The most important function of the institution is to arouse desire to work, and to provide variety of outlets. Practice comes in the industrial community outside. Young people must form sufficient economic interest to make earning a living attractive and enough self-control to avoid being arrested by the police. In-

¹ *The Survey Graphic*, March, 1924.

centive and imagination must be added to vocational training program, or little of permanent value will be gained.

Personality adjustment is the supreme task of the correctional school. Habit-formation that will free the individual from irritation and rebellion which are sometimes caused by necessity of paying too much conscious attention to daily routine, is of importance. Punctuality, orderliness, system, are highly desirable, the neurotic child stands in special need of them. It is common to find half-grown boys and girls to whom processes of daily living are a daily torment, getting up in the morning, washing, dressing, standing erect, cleaning up litter, eating food without spilling, arriving at school, meals, or work on time, are just so many intolerable obstacles to enjoying life. The child who is delinquent, and already has been adjudged a misfit in society, finds life still more trying in these respects than the neurotic child in his own home. The correctional school should endeavor to rid the child of necessity for so much attention. Mere drill, insistence on obedience to routine will not accomplish the result. An act, such as making a smooth bed in the institution, may be performed three hundred and sixty-five times under coercion, and no habit will be formed. It is necessary to free performance from its initial irritation, and to surround it with pleasurable rewards from the start before the vigorous traveling of muscular and nervous energy over the same channels, will afford satisfaction. William James notes that it is habit which makes life tolerable; however, before we can expect the sailor to stick, because of habit, to the decks of his ship, he must at one time have felt the

glow of satisfaction in sweep of muscular tensions and quickened heart-beat, as he learned to keep his feet in a gale. Habit-formation for delinquent children in institutions cannot be forced, but must follow definite psychological laws. Of value to arouse interest and to lessen irritation are shower baths, camp-life, bugle-calls, furniture and dishes that are attractive, yet durable, an atmosphere of comfort, without fuss, a daily routine that is rhythmic with work, ample rest periods and play.

Habits also adhere to the emotions as well as to daily activities, and emotional habits are outlets of personality. "Insolence," "sulkiness," "indifference," "inattention," "no application," "quarrelsomeness," "boisterousness," are the chief undesirable traits described by adults who are in charge of children in institutions. The words as usually used, of course, mean nothing, explain nothing of the child's real attitude. The adult uses them to express his own disapproval. If one analyzes the *causes* of discipline, within correctional institutions, one can trace them usually to petty infractions of rules and regulations, and equally petty infractions of the officers' sense of dignity.

Handcuffs, tying up, strait-jackets, immersing in cold water, and various other forms of torture described under the name water-cure, whipping, dosing with drugs to produce nausea, solitary confinement in dark cells, semi-starvation for weeks on a diet of bread and water, or bread and milk, are punishments still inflicted in some state schools for juvenile delinquents. Some schools maintain special discipline houses which are little more than prisons; where "inmates," because of youth, suffer

perhaps, more indignities than adult prisoners would. Occasion of these measures is practically always some trivial beginning, an insolent answer to a superior, or failure to respond punctually to command, although running away, or attempting to do so, smuggling sweets, or tobacco, acts of sex perversion are frequent reasons given. The child who once has been punished is usually a frequent repeater in the discipline-house; minor acts of insubordination tend to grow into larger ones, the slightly impudent child becomes the chronic runaway and rebel. This is the result of ignorance on the part of the adult; although the child's institutional life is threatening to become a failure, and his whole career tending to become fixed in delinquency, there is usually little disposition of the authorities to ask *why*. They go on punishing. The slightest curiosity on their part as to the personality of the child might have revealed the cause of the initial emotional attitude. First *fear* of criticism, failure, disapproval, then the attitude of resistance, conflict, have been at the root of many an overt rebellion. The child is weighed down with the feeling of never being able to suit demands, or caprices of the adult world. To change this attitude and to make this personal adjustment, the institution must provide definite opportunities for success.

The individual project, whereby the child takes over some specific task which the imagination has raised out of commonplace, is useful. The job may be a humble bit of domestic routine, or it may be raising choice flowers, or creating art objects, or an act of leadership; if it can carry responsibility, and bring merited recognition, it will fulfill a deep

need of the personality. There are some state schools where this method is used and they are enabled to get along without discipline houses, or medieval punishments. These schools present greatest possible contrast to those where squads of boys or girls work mechanically in the factory method, the institution viewing getting work done as its supreme goal, crushing refractory spirits as they seem to retard the business.

Confusion of mind exists on this point. The public forgets its correctional institutions until a riot breaks out, and investigation sets in. Then average men and women, disliking sentimentality, are likely to say: "Certainly these boys and girls should be controlled. If it is necessary to use the rod, why not use it?" They feel justified in ridiculing the idea that "spanking," "paddling," "switching," and the like (the crueller punishments of the breaking-down institution being usually withheld from the public) can hurt any one. It is true that American softness, the tendency of children to shirk pain, and hardship, should not be encouraged. The injury inflicted in correctional institutions is not to be condemned because it gives pain, or is displeasing to sentimentalists, but because it wrecks the spirit of children, and increases delinquency. It is an expensive display of inefficiency and bad temper, or weakness. If some one remarks that parents use the rod, and other corrective displays of force, let it be clearly understood that chastisement by a wise, loved parent is psychologically different from use of corporal punishment by a state official. The social effect of repressive, violent methods of discipline in state correctional schools is wholly bad, and should be universally con-

demned by social workers, and the community, as costly, inefficient, stupid and dangerous.

Contact with the community is the final problem of the correctional school and should be considered from the day the child enters. Group-life is the valuable thing about institutions; in it the child is making constant experiments in citizenship. Some form of participation in student government is desirable, and is found in the most successful schools. The organization need not be formal, and should not be patterned on city governments, or police courts which cannot express the child's social needs, or feeling of justice. The best form of student government is that which grows up naturally within the group, expressing itself in clubs, work and service groups, recreation committees; taking the best that the *gang-feeling* has to offer: loyalty and response to spontaneous leadership, and rejecting evils of gang life,—their anti-social goals. Membership in a student group, which does not pretend to full power to run the institution, but which, within its own restricted field has responsibility, is not arbitrarily *controlled by adults*, is an excellent way of preparation for community life. Adults find it hard to refrain from tyranny, either physical or spiritual. With the student group they should not be allowed to interfere. They should belong to the group, and use their natural strength in leadership, but should resolutely withhold their power to crush or devitalize activities of the student group.

Gradually, group life within the institution should be broadened until students form their own contacts with the community; public school attendance, church, club, concerts, recreation and indus-

trial channels should be allowed to form. Passage of the individual from institution to the world outside should never be abrupt, but infiltration should be continually at work. This requires skill, goodwill and enlightenment on the part of school authorities, and gradual education of the community.

When is a child ready to leave the correctional institution? Certain children require permanent custody, at least in the present state of knowledge, and should be transferred after sufficient study and diagnosis to those institutions equipped to provide for their needs. The majority must be restored to the community. There is a period of saturation beyond which residence in a correctional school is harmful. Some institutions use a credit, or merit system for determining the proper time for graduation. If this system is arbitrary, or is based on mere length of *time served*, or on the capricious opinion of matrons, or teachers, or if it is left wholly to discretion of the authorities, the individual is not likely to leave at the time when he is most ready to succeed. Some plan of determining efficiency of the student, something which will indicate what he has learned and absorbed into his being, is now worked out in a few correctional schools. One institution, known as an opportunity school, appoints an efficiency committee composed of representatives from faculty and students. The scale on which the student is judged, or measured, includes points which reflect daily activities, energy-level, disposition, or character of the student, as well as record of his achievements. In such a point-scale there are no *demerits*; successes alone are counted. The following efficiency sheet may be useful:

DAILY ROUTINE:

For clean room every day,	1 per month
For daily bath, clean teeth, clean, neat hair, shoes and clothes in proper order,	1 per month
Punctuality to departments, school and to meals,	1 per month
Courtesy, a good daily average without outbreak,	2 per month
Contentment and good-will, an even disposition without marked gloom or tantrums,	1 per month
Balanced diet (eating of eggs, milk and the protective fruits and vegetables),	$\frac{1}{2}$ per month
Use of good English (without bad grammar or slang and profanity),	$\frac{1}{2}$ per month
Notebook prepared on any topic of personal hygiene, or temperament,	1 to 5 credits

Thus in six months the child who was clean, punctual and courteous could gain forty-two credits. For a certificate, one hundred credits are required; for junior standing, one hundred and fifty; for senior graduates, two hundred. Privileges can be arranged to mark each grade. With the permission of the court, or other governing body, parole or residence in community under supervision can be worked out. An *alumnæ* organization, with town club house privileges, can be open to holders of a certain number of credits.

The remainder of the credits can be distributed as follows:

SCHOOL:

For each one-half grade made	5 credits
For each month of satisfactory conduct	1 credit

LAUNDRY:

Successful ironing	5 credits
Successful washing	5 "
Notebook	1 to 5 "

ATHLETICS:

Correct posture	3 credits
Swimming	1 "
Diving	1 "
Making a team	2 "
Good sportsmanship	3 "
Hikes	1 "
Leadership in games	3 "
Cheer leader	3 "
Notebook in any topic in athletics	1 to 5 "

HANDCRAFT:

For handwork accepted by committee, rugs, toys, gifts, mechanics, lamp- shades, pottery, lace, drawings or models	1 to 5 "
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GARDEN:

Growing plants successfully	5 "
Cultivating the ground	5 "
Notebook	1 to 5 "

HOUSEKEEPING:

Housekeeping	1 to 5 "
Household decoration	1 to 5 "
Household repairs	1 to 5 "
Arrangement of flowers	1 to 5 "
Contributing to attractiveness of home	1 to 5 "
Notebook	1 to 5 "

LIBRARY:

For each book on the accredited list, and a satisfactory outline	1 "
Notebook on Books	1 to 5 "

DRAMATICS:

Taking part in a play	1 to 5 "
Making costumes	1 to 5 "

Scenery making	I to 5 credits
Stage managing	I to 5 "
SEWING DEPARTMENT:	
Dressmaking and millinery	I to 5 "
Proficiency in mending and darning	I to 5 "
KITCHEN:	
Bread, rolls, cake	I to 5 "
Salads	I to 5 "
Meats	I to 5 "
Pastries	I to 5 "
Canning	I to 5 "
Vegetables	I to 5 "
Planning of menus	I to 5 "
DINING ROOM:	
Proper service	I to 5 "
Unbroken dishes	½ per month
Notebook	I to 5 credits
POULTRY DEPARTMENT:	
Agricultural work	I to 5 "
Cleanliness and orderliness in department	I to 5 "
Punctuality in department	I to 5 "
Care of Hatch House	I to 5 "
Care of Brooder House	I to 5 "
Notebook	I to 5 "
SPECIAL CREDITS:	
Student Body Office	10 "
Citizenship	I to 5 "
Folk dance	I to 5 "
Current Events	I to 5 "
Glee Club	I to 5 "
Music	I to 5 "
Serving on committees	I to 5 "
Composing song or yell	I to 5 "
Making posters	I to 5 "
Notebook in any of above credits	I to 5 "
Thrift	I to 5 "
Extra earnings for outside work done	

and pay received if quality of work
is acceptable to Efficiency Commit-
tee

1 to 3 credits

Community contact

1 to 5 "

Attitude

1 to 5 "

In this scheme various types of ability are recognized. The diligent bookish student, the athlete, the hard-worker in household tasks, the lover of arts and crafts, the social leader, the child who simply avoids trouble, the all-round active individual, and the carefree, or dreamer are provided for. The individual who succeeds in the institution may make a failure outside, or the failure in school may be successful in the community. But if the correctional school models its activities on fundamental life-situations, and refrains from stressing artificial standards, chances for success in after life are much greater.

The true value of correctional education consists in the following:

1. Vigorous and joyous health, a sense of physical well-being;

2. Emotional adjustment, a correct understanding of the individual by himself;

3. The restoration of confidence and the respect of the individual for his own personality. This is best accomplished by the discovery of tasks within the strength and capacity of the young person, tasks, the performance of which win merited approval from the group;

4. The individual must develop loyalty, and the feeling of friendship or social solidarity, by means of participation in the actual conduct of affairs within the student-group; activity related to a social purpose;

5. New outlets must be formed for the creative energy of youth;

6. The social status of the individual must be restored, that is to say, he must be absorbed into the community, which in its turn must be educated to recognition that the young person has been returned to full citizenship in our common humanity.¹

¹ This summary has been reprinted from an article: "The True Value of Correctional Education," Miriam Van Waters, Proceedings of the Annual Congress of American Prison Association, 1921, p. 176.

CHAPTER X

MENTAL HYGIENE AND THE ADJUSTMENT OF DELINQUENCY

THERE are certain words which sum up vast areas of human struggle, words which express emotions of the race, the attitude of mind toward the problem involved. Such is the term *mental hygiene*, coined by Adolf Meyer. The term denotes activities of those who are interested in constructive possibilities of mental health. That mental disease, delinquency and other forms of disordered conduct are public health problems is the discovery of this century. Use of the words *mental hygiene* marks another victory in our long-fought battle against superstitions that block the way to adequate treatment of handicapped human beings.

If we recall the doom which twenty-five years ago engulfed tuberculosis sufferers, we gain insight as to the predicament of the majority of the insane and delinquent to-day. A diagnosis of tuberculosis was like a sentence of death, or life imprisonment. Strict isolation from normal human contacts, gradual enfeeblement, progressive despair were the usual accompaniments of "consumption." Public opinion shunned the sufferer whose condition was deemed so hopeless; it compelled herding patients in cold, dreary barracks, or leaving them in cellars and garrets of tenement houses to perish miserably. The most enthusiastic humanitarian would never have dreamed of asking hundreds of

thousands of people in midst of joyous merrymaking to think for a moment of tuberculosis on Christmas Day. Yet the public health movement in America has done this very thing with its gay-colored anti-tuberculosis stamp. When we send it now with greeting and symbols of affection into homes of those we love, we do not ask them to dwell on sadness of defeat by a wasting illness, rather does the opposite picture suggest itself, victory, the open window, tanned faces of little children, the tooth brush, abundant food, sleep, that does more than "knit up the raveled sleeve of care," sleep in sun and wind-cleaned spaces that is genuinely creative; more significant than all else, the Christmas stamp of the anti-tuberculosis movement, means a public opinion without fear of condemnation. Change in emotional attitude has been caused largely by *demonstration* of successful treatment of diseased patients and the fact that with increasing scientific knowledge and a growth of public responsibility, disease itself can be prevented. Successful demonstration in its turn has been made possible chiefly through the faith and courage of those human beings who conquered fear and changed their attitude.

More lately personal health is becoming viewed as an adjustment between the individual and his world. It represents an achievement, perpetually renewed, in which the entire being, mind, body and emotions take part. Illness, at least in the opinion of certain psychiatrists, is thought to be a response of the organism to some life-situation, to thoroughly understand which it would be necessary to know what the sick individual really wanted, to what field of human experience or attainment he

was seeking entrance, what forces without and within held him back. Sickness, thus interpreted as an episode in a life-journey becomes more than ever a social health problem. All this the public is beginning to comprehend, and while the great leaders must still wrestle with specific disasters like syphilis, cancer and infectious children's diseases, their solution is now chiefly a matter of research and human energy. Public opinion is willing, that is to say, to let the patient be cured. It no longer is willing to cast him out of the herd because he is sick.

Mental hygiene marks the awakening of mankind to needs of those who are sick mentally, or who are out of joint with their fellow beings. First of all it is an affirmation, an attitude of mind: it devotes readiness to attack mental problems in the same spirit in which other problems have been met. Before the mental hygiene movement, of course, great physicians labored in this spirit. Mental Hygiene has perhaps added little to the stock of knowledge, or the development of special technique in the field of insanity and behavior disorders. Still its contribution is so great that it ranks among most important social movements of all time. Looking back on our troubles: warfare, slavery, poverty, our descendants doubtless will be most saddened at the way we treated those who disagreed with, or were unadjusted to, our social codes, and who responded with behavior called *insanity* or *delinquency*. Perhaps too they will consider America's two outstanding contributions to the relief of the widespread distress of civilization,—the Juvenile Court and the Mental Hygiene Movement.

Mental Hygiene makes appeal to social workers because of its history. Unlike other ameliorations, it originated and is still led by the spirit of one who had been himself disabled. Clifford Beers in 1908 published his book "The Mind that Found Itself." Other men have written of their experiences while insane, but no one before wrote with such a fiery desire to help his fellow-beings. De Quincey, for example, even the gentle Lamb, thought themselves rather clever fellows when they expressed their flights from reality. Beers saw that insanity is a human problem and that it can be solved only by enlisting the service of all humanity. He found that ignorance and misunderstanding of mental disease was the cause of harsh treatment, loneliness and violence he endured at the hands of physicians, superintendents, attendants and guards. A native of New England, student in a foremost university, he realized the darkness of public opinion everywhere, that the insane were outcast because they were dehumanized in the eyes of the community. If a member of a favored social group could suffer this isolation, how much more keenly, he reasoned, would the multitude of unknown men and women suffer. With the restraint of genius he was able to see that the injury was not personal, that cells, dungeons, strait-jackets, beatings, humiliations were not so important issues as was the blank wall that separated the insane from normal contact with sympathy or an understanding attitude on the part of those who had charge of them. His book was written to reveal the mental patient as a human being, responding to the same mental and social situations that other people respond to, but perceiving these situations *differently* because of mental

illness. So clear, simple and unselfish an account of human disability has never before been given. The book, (which was a literary triumph) sounded the note whose overtones brought together the first Mental Hygiene Society, Connecticut, 1908. The following year the National Committee for Mental Hygiene was created, and within four years had enlisted America's most illustrious names; physicians, clergymen, judges, lawyers, educators, men of science, social workers. Shortly, over twenty states organized Mental Hygiene societies. The activity spread to Europe and no less than ten countries have organized leagues; it has become an international movement.

If this progress is analyzed from a social worker's viewpoint, it will be evident that its success is due to its plan of coöperation between science and social work. The Mental Hygiene movement has a definite social program, and views social treatment of conduct disorders as its chief function. It correlates medicine, psychology, psychiatry and social work into a single force to combat maladjustment.

It has long been recognized that "forces are not innate, but are accompaniments of activity." What has not been so clear is that human activity is a response to a situation that is primarily social. Social workers have come to see that their chief contribution to science will be the unraveling of the earliest texture of the social relationship, how the child was led in infancy to form habits of fear, mistrust, suspicion, and egotism, or habits of faith, coöperation and loyalty. As Adolf Meyer said in his wisdom: "It is in each man's social relationships that his mental history is largely written."

No one is so well equipped as the social worker for determining actually what are the social relationships of the individual. This is a different matter from simply noting the persons and objects in the environment. It is their interplay which is important. Frequently it is noted that one member of a family may have a startlingly different moral code from the rest, the "black sheep," or the "Joan of Arc," or "Don Juan" emerging in contrast to the average family-tone. It is only the social worker who can trace, by patient investigation, how this attitude has been built up, whether within the home, or without. Hence the social worker has thrust light into many a dark nook where all that was not understood was swept together by scientists in one heap, and labeled, innate or inherited. The social worker must supply to psychiatry social facts for diagnosis, and mental hygiene recognizes that no real diagnosis is possible without social interpretation.

Until this union of psychiatry and social work it was not clear how we were ever to obtain a life-history of the emotions of an individual. Watson has shown that the emotions of the infant are simple, that the baby is not *born* afraid of the dark, or rats or snakes or making addresses in public; he is not born with feelings of love for his parents, or with anger for social injustice, or resentment at not being asked to serve on a committee. These he acquires through education. His educators are those who feed, clothe and cleanse him, lift, rock, stroke, and hold him. Love attaches itself to all that gives comfort and security to the child; anger at first is aroused only when free movements of the child are

restricted; fear comes with loss of physical support.¹ Gradually through operation of the conditioned reflex these primitive feelings, love, anger and fear, attach themselves to an ever widening circle of persons and objects, and man, a social being with all his thousand whims, artifices, prejudices and deep capacities for pleasure and pain is developed. How? This question can be answered only as we retrace the steps the unfolding personality has traveled. No laboratory analysis can reveal all the journey, nor explain why it was taken. The social worker in rapport with the client is the only one who will give us a genetic study of the emotions.

Another outcome of mental hygiene is the constructive social treatment program in the light of knowledge gained from physician, psychologist and psychiatrist.

The Civil Service candidate for friendly visitor who was asked to explain how she would seek aid for her client from family, physician, clergyman, psychiatrist, schools and courts, and who answered she would go:

“to the family for music and books,
to the physician for the good of the body,
to the clergyman for the good of the soul,
to the psychiatrist for information,
to the schools for information,
to the courts for advice,”

indicated pretty clearly the general attitude of mind toward scientific mental research. It was chiefly for *information*. There have been psychologists and psychiatrists before the mental hygiene movement

¹ Watson, W.: “Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist,” pp. 198-207.

who endeavored to have their recommendations put into effect; the out-patient clinics of many hospitals have previously employed social workers, but the mental hygiene movement differs in that its life-blood is social treatment.

Let it be remembered that very much of the time spent on the mentally sick, and the delinquent has gone to classification. This is important work if based on real observation and experiment, and if the individual has sufficient confidence in the examining expert to fully reveal himself; that is to say, the results of classification are important if true. But by itself this accomplishes nothing for the delinquent. A court may have an elaborate organization of clinics, laboratories and trained social workers all busily compiling records, but let us not make the error of supposing this equipment a substitute for social treatment. The benefit derived may go only to the workers who learn to cultivate labor and an inquiring habit of mind. Social treatment denotes the process of assisting the individual to make adequate use of sources of energy he may possess; it means tireless attention to details of adjustment, power to supply nourishment necessary to growth of personality.

To be quite clear: scientific work should not be belittled, but it cannot, of itself, supply this nourishment. In biology endless work has been devoted to classifying animals and birds by skeleton and foot-structure. This labor will not of itself save our animals and birds from extinction. Only when persons who love animals and combat their extinction are set to work is the world made any safer, or pleasanter for living creatures.

Fostering of life is something quite different from

ability to understand it, although it may well be that rearing and knowledge reënforce each other. Geddes and Thompson, in introduction to their book on evolution,¹ make a profound observation; they never so truly understood laws of evolution as when they sweat to make grass grow on their own fields. To be responsible for the life of a blade of grass, to see to it genuinely that it gets the best chance to grow, teaches one to know the ways of life, where nothing can be hastened, or forced; as grass has its own rhythm of rest and growth, its own needs and inner mysteries, so with human beings.

The aims of the Mental Hygiene movement are to make widespread the knowledge of causes of mental ill-health, to secure proper treatment for those whose condition requires custody, to increase our institutional facilities so that feeble-minded, epileptic and insane can be properly housed and cared for, to gain adequate legislation where it is lacking, to assist in colonization of defectives, and thus lighten financial burdens of the community, to apply therapeutic measures whenever possible, to bring about awakened interest in normal mental health to parents, teachers and other social groups, and to prevent delinquency and other disorders of conduct.

For this purpose the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has established child guidance clinics in various parts of the United States under the direction of Dr. V. V. Anderson. The child guidance clinic, with its staff of psychiatrists, psychologists, physicians and social workers offers diagnosis and social treatment to the problem child whose mentality is such that treatment in the community is likely to be successful, but whose emotional

¹ Geddes and Thompson: "Evolution."

or behavior difficulties have created maladjustment. Parents, teachers and social agencies may here obtain the clews to adjustment. It is a big program of community education and coöperation. Rather than a duplication of numerous clinics that exist for study of such children, clinics so choked with cases that constructive social treatment is impossible, this child guidance enterprise is bent on demonstration. Only the number of cases that can be adequately handled are received for intensive work. This plan is one calculated to strengthen all existing social resources and to put fresh courage into any scheme of child welfare in the community. No one can estimate the service it is likely to render problem children who are on the verge of delinquency. It is not so much a new method of treatment as a means of bringing all available forces to bear on a single attack upon the problem.

Too long have we seen the child in sections; we are used to view the difficult child as one whose parents are interested in his home activities, the school considers him a pupil, the physician a patient, the church a soul, the court a ward, the community a pest, the social agency a client; more than anything else the child guidance clinic has succeeded in re-assembling the child.

The mental hygiene movement is showing us that behavior difficulties are never trivial, ill-temper, habit of failure, jealousy, rage, over-discouragement, marked fluctuations of energy, moodiness, frequent sickness, evasion of tasks and hard situations, "nervousness," oversensitivity, petty delinquencies, are danger signals which indicate that something is amiss in the interplay of the individual and his environment.

Normal adjustment demands something more than mere avoidance of catastrophe; the goal of education from the standpoint of the mental hygienist is a positive affirmation of: "The adult well adjusted to his environment, with healthy organs, but also with a healthy balance between the conflicting trends of human nature; an adult not merely well nourished and with immaculate teeth and tonsils, but meeting the tasks of life with the necessary output of energy and with pertinacity, not shirking from or evading personal problems, not giving to the realities of life false values, determined by individual idiosyncrasies, by earlier experiences, by uncorrected family or social prejudices; handing over to habit the simpler activities of daily life, regulating soberly the instincts, digesting disappointments and bereavements, giving and taking in the spirit of social solidarity, facing the tests of marriage and parenthood in a direct and open manner, throwing himself into his economic tasks with cheerfulness and satisfaction."¹

Only with these larger goals in view of the education required by all children in conflict can the problem of juvenile delinquency be solved.

¹ C. Macfie Campbell, M.D., Johns Hopkins Hospital. An address before the National Conference of Social Work, June, 1919. Reprint No. 58, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Ave., New York City.

CHAPTER XI

WHO ARE SUCCESSFUL WORKERS WITH DELINQUENTS?

IN social work emphasis has changed from situations, poverty, disease, disaster, to personality which is now seen to be chief of the forces of reconstruction. Who can work best with disordered mankind? Tolstoi explains certain failures thus:

"It all lies in the fact that men think there are circumstances when one may deal with human beings without love, and there are no such circumstances. One may deal with things without love; one may cut down trees, make bricks, hammer iron, without love. But you cannot deal with men without it just as you cannot deal with bees without being careful. If you deal carelessly with bees, you will injure them and will yourself be injured. And so with men."

What is the explanation of the tranquilizing personality who can put a child at ease, or bring serenity rather than anxiety and irritation? Can the right type of personality be developed through education and training? What relation has intelligence, or vocational cleverness to capacity for success in treating human beings? These inquiries are suggested as we note variation in results of treatment when apparently similar methods are used.

There are areas of human work which must reject all but the fittest. Art, religion, psychiatry and social work are fields whose full harvest yields itself

up only in response to some fortunate kind of human energy; they are alike in this: each deals with situations, or problems which call forth behavior and emotion; each depend for existence upon voluntary response, rather than force; requires a special attitude of mind and inculcates a discipline upon its leaders. Art, religion, psychiatry and social work demand submission of self to something beyond learning technique, or practicing rules. Ability to succeed requires something more than talent. Those who seek to deal with the responding human personality need more than training and intelligence as commonly conceived. Sheer cleverness does not create beauty, or holiness, or social response in human beings, although it may build bridges, erect institutions, run machines, compile social investigations and give some kinds of social treatment.

When the problem of altering human behavior is entered, we are in a different world. Neither knowledge nor good-will can force behavior into a new channel; the more direct the attack by means of force, the more subtly does human nature evade us, the more humiliating is our failure. Christ said that as "the wind bloweth where it listeth so is every man of the spirit." Novelists and poets have told us love cannot be made to comply with demand or sense of obligation; the Greek dramatists developed the idea of fate in the great passions and crises of life, but only recently has science become sufficiently enlightened to show us that conduct, emotion, all responses, even the humblest, are due to processes the complexity of which we are only beginning to guess. Human behavior would seem at times to rest in bed-rock of some ancient, forgotten cosmic river-bed, or again to emerge from the chance situation of to-day

as lightly as thistle-down; yet always it is *caused*.

The ability which discovers determining factors of conduct, the special gift for research may not be all the same thing as ability to assist, or to induce modification, although doubtless the two skills must interchange their sources of light. It has frequently been remarked in this decade that we are only just beginning to apply our knowledge and ability to the solution of human problems;¹ it is a little sad to note that the skill we have heaped up in process of *subduing* natural forces and materials is still mistakenly being applied to human nature, which is not the kind of energy to be *subdued* with mechanical means. As our knowledge of human nature grows, as social consciousness extends, special types of personality are being developed who seek to understand the growth-process of behavior and to acquire power to direct it. Already there are workers equipped to deal with disordered behavior and who seem to have capacity to aid in its adjustment. Have these individuals a peculiar type of personal make-up? It is time that we set forth what we know, and guess, of the personality attributes of successful workers, nor does our inquiry imply disrespect to those who, in good faith, have tackled delinquency and appear to be getting the worst of it.

Until growth of the scientific spirit in social work, the maladjusted have commonly been dealt with by two types: those who wish to dominate other human beings by force, and those who, projecting themselves into the situation, have "consciousness of kind," or a fellow-feeling for the maladjusted. Neither type is adequate to perform the service of the true social worker. We are beginning to dis-

¹ Robinson, James Harvey: "Mind in the Making."

tinguish a new group of men and women who have entered the field of delinquency because they seek to understand the springs of human conduct and who possess genuine respect for life.

If we study the history of man's attempt to deal with delinquency we find that penal and custodial institutions have been usually managed by those who love to command. Capable administrators are frequently men or women who have the military, or police, habit of mind. By force of leadership or coercion, combined with knack of subduing materials and statistics, they achieve orderly, efficient institutions. Their authoritative position is congenial to them. They have no hesitation in making decisions that affect human lives, since weaker or enfeebled personalities they hold in contempt.

They are successful as long as they are in position to dominate. When authority is challenged they become maladjusted or resort to acts of cruelty, or intrigue. Owing to our method of selecting executives, giving preference to those who can "run the business" with least amount of trouble to boards of managers and political bodies, having in our ignorance little conception of what the individuals who are to be cared for actually require, such personalities often are found at the head of reformatories, correctional schools and hospitals for the insane. Adult inmates who show small capacity for modification often thrive under such officials. In the present state of our knowledge they are undoubtedly useful for certain classes of delinquents. But they are entirely unfitted to deal with delinquents in emotional conflicts, or with those who possess a sensitive capacity for modification of behavior.

The worst phases of attempt to control by force

are seen when it is blind, or fanatical, or where it is combined with inefficiency, greed, stupidity, or emotional disorders. There is then temptation to wreak on helpless subjects moods of jealousy, fear, anger, secret feelings of inferiority, love of flattery, or gratification in the suffering, or discomfort of the weak. Outlets to distorted emotion of the "superior officer" are often disguised under various cloaks of expediency, political pressure, lack of funds, poor equipment, ill health, or are explained to a credulous, or ignorant, public as necessary measures in handling a dangerous or diseased class of human beings.

Institution atmosphere is congenial to this type of executive because control is almost unlimited, but the institution has no monopoly on those who crave power and yield to its seductions. They are found among probation and parole officers and many social workers who undertake the supervision of delinquents and other maladjusted individuals. Such workers have no respect for the personality of their client; they stress his weakness, abnormality, and have no comprehension of his hidden strength. Their attitude is clearly seen as soon as the delinquent shows *resistance*, or runs counter to opinions of the worker. Petty acts of tyranny, harsh criticism, disparaging remarks about the delinquent's ability to make good, obstacles placed in the way of carrying out of plans which did not originate in the mind of the officer, as for example when a probationer secures a new kind of employment, or makes an unauthorized arrangement, persistent "follow-up" work which, under guise of "efficiency" literally "hounds" the delinquent and retards his ability to make sound decisions or to stand on his

own feet; all these are manifestations of dominance. The fact that dominance may be traced to a *parental* motive does not alter the result. Frequently desire to rule is *parental*, and therefore supposedly benevolent in origin. We are learning that the parental attitude itself, if not based on sound biological principles, if not animated by respect for the growing personality of the child, has its special dangers, and may be a contributing cause to that conflict which expresses itself in acts of delinquency.

That wish to gain personal victory over the delinquent may be unconscious, especially in cases of "refined," trained men and women, incapable of overt acts of violence or forms of self-seeking, (to gain political power, or money) does not lessen the evil. Their service to the delinquent induces weakness and dependence. Failure of the client is not interpreted as failure of method, but fresh proof of need for constant personal influence. If sudden breakdown occurs while the worker is "on the job," some remote factor in the situation will be blamed, for example heredity, or worthlessness of delinquents, or some general assertion will be the outlet:

"It is impossible to help these boys and girls: they *want* to be bad!"

Social work, undertaken because of wish to dominate or to extend personal influence, tends to collapse. Its effect on the worker is usually disastrous. Pride is followed by disappointment and cynicism. If one were to compile the life-histories of those who have worked with the delinquent and insane, and retired subsequently in defeat, managers of institutions, officials, probation workers, holders of offices, both high and petty, one discovers a surprising number of casualties. They "break down," or they be-

come bitter critics of human nature, lapsing sometimes into savagery, or indifference to the suffering of others; those familiar with internal affairs of certain reformatories and hospitals have noted the transformation of many promising Dr. Jekylls into Mr. Hydes. Social work for the helpless seems to develop all that is best in the worker, calling out strength and warmth, or it tends to arouse tyranny. Personal dominance is a dangerous method, both to client and worker; it is a poor substitute for the capacity to awaken insight and to induce growth.

Equally inadequate is the type of worker with delinquents who feels primarily "sympathy" or "pity." The sentimental worker at bottom is animated by *identification of self* with the delinquent. He also is an example of misuse of force. He is in revolt, more or less obscurely, against some real or imagined tyranny experienced in his own life. It is in effect a personal satisfaction for him to work with the delinquent. The sentimentalist visits jail, sends flowers to the murderer, thrills at confessions, stories of crime, escapes, riots, shudders with horror at brutalities of prison, not because of any genuine respect for human life, but out of self-pity. These individuals do much to encourage crime; outwardly law-abiding they have dislike of submission to authority, they resent discipline, especially self-discipline. Delinquency represents to them relief. Their flabbiness prevents them from having ability to sympathize with the prolonged, insistent *effort* the delinquent must make to a new channel of activity that leads to adjustment.

Such workers are found everywhere. They minimize the original offense. If a girl steals luxurious

clothes they say "it is natural" for a girl to desire beautiful things; if she accepts money from men, they explain that women are "naturally" to be protected and supported by men; if a boy runs away and is unable to face any issue squarely, they find ample excuse; if he is cruel to his mother, they justify it as due to maternal oppression. When a delinquent falls into the hands of such a worker, he is strengthened in subterfuge; the only change in his condition is that he is likely to add hypocrisy to delinquency.

This worker is following a dual line. He is not courageous in his inner conflict with authority. He wishes respectability, but license to nullify the consequences of convention secretly. Hence he holds nothing hard, or real before the delinquent. The delinquent may "make a success," win approval, yet fundamentally remain self-seeking and predatory in attitude. Unfortunately the delinquent is easily influenced by this type of adult. He calls him his "friend who will stand by him in anything"; he depends upon his "friend" to "get him off"; he is not ashamed to admit self-seeking motives, conscious that there is a silent bond of likemindedness between himself and officer. Particularly is this noticed in men officers who excuse sex delinquencies of boys on the theory that the girl is "already bad." "You cannot blame the fellow, he did no more than any red-blooded man would do in the circumstances." If, however, the same boy commits an unusual sex offense, or shows some craving that offends the probation officer, there is an equally unjustified attitude: "That a fellow who would do that, hanging is too good for him."

"To damn sins we have no mind to," and to

make easier the path of the sinner who sins in agreement to our inner desires are attitudes of mind commonly exhibited by the worker with delinquents who is sentimental and who, without reducing maladjustment in any particular, continues to speak in public of "raising the fallen" and of "doing something for the under dog."

Both domineering and "sympathetic" type of worker with delinquents expect to succeed through personal influence. The candidate for civil service examination who was asked:

"Whom would you consider a hopeless case for probation?" And who answered:

"None are hopeless; there is good in all," but added: "I would consider a case hopeless if she refused to take advice," expressed their underlying philosophy.

The results of each type will differ in proportion to training, skill and previous experience, but results gained by either type of personal influence are likely to be unstable. As soon as conditions change, the delinquent responds to older, deeper personal influences, and having no insight, no social goal, no permanent incentive, he merely shifts the scene of his activities and continues to be at war with society. The worker has been only a shield between the delinquent and reality; when the need comes for active personal adjustment the support has collapsed and the individual is helpless.

To the new type of social worker seeking to learn the art of human helpfulness is entrusted a supreme opportunity. Upon them it depends whether society will continue to "try out" humanitarian theories and principles like probation and parole, or whether medieval darkness will again sweep our courts and

institutions. A swelling tide of disrepute threatens to engulf much social work already in existence for delinquents. The public cannot know that *probation* as conceived by students of human behavior has never been applied to any large area for any length of time. The public cannot be expected to know that "giving another chance," or turning out of the courtroom with an admonition, is *not* probation; probation is contact with a constructive personality who is enlightened enough by nature and training to be able to translate the findings of scientific research into action useful for social treatment, and to induce growth. Knowledge far outruns practice. There is no longer reasonable doubt that delinquency could be checked, practically eliminated from the normal population, if a sufficient number of social workers would dedicate their lives to application of scientific knowledge of behavior we now possess.

Since it is evident that those interested in the delinquent do not intend to abandon him to the politician and the reactionary, and that there is an increasing demand for constructive personalities, it is important to outline some traits of the worker who is likely to be successful.

Let us assume an adequate educational background and necessary preliminary training. The Juvenile Court Standards Committee has required college education¹ or its equivalent, and at least one year of supervised case-work as the minimum requisite training for a probation officer. This modest requirement is met with but by one probation force in our country.² Training essential in making of a case-

¹ Juvenile Court Standards, Children's Bureau Publication No. 121, Washington, D. C., 1923, p. 7.

² The Juvenile Court of Detroit, Michigan.

study, or giving elements of social treatment is equally lacking. This is no cause for discouragement. It merely indicates greater opportunity for a demonstration of what genuine probation can do when the public is ready to demand it. Let us assume the average community; it would have no difficulty in securing services of a probation staff, each one of whom had the equivalent of a college education, and one year of experience in an accredited social agency.¹ Training of a worker with delinquents should include an elementary knowledge of biology and psychology; some familiarity with the writings of psychiatrists and the great novelists, poets and dramatists, in which it will be seen that the probation officer is struggling with problems that have perplexed human beings since history began. There should be knowledge too of the history of crime and punishment during civilization. Through these studies the worker will gain background enough to realize that progress is gradual; brutality, repression, cruelty, have been repeatedly tried and have failed to reduce the ratio of crime; to alter fundamental human nature something more than good-will or force is required. Mental preparation should have continued until the social worker has formed power to discern, analyze and compare, or until mental work at frequent intervals is habitual and pleasant. All the training in the world will not, of itself, make an intelligent person into a successful social worker with delinquents, but the one most gifted with desirable personal attributes will not reach the highest sources of power without

¹ The National Probation Association would be glad to furnish any community with a list of available probation workers. See also the American Association of Social Workers.

adequate training. If a capable personality without education tries to enter the field, the bearing down of organized forces of political pressure will be more likely to defeat him. He will lack adroitness and wisdom in worldly matters. Let us assume that the man or woman fit to work with delinquents has been caring about it for a sufficient length of time to win minimum essentials of preparation.

What types of personality are most fitted to engage in the task of behavior adjustment? Watson defines personality "as an individual's total assets . . . and liabilities . . . on the reaction side."¹ This definition gives clarity of approach, but to discover how the personality reveals its modes of responding, we must turn to Rosanoff, for nowhere can we gain a clearer description of the normal personality.

The desirable personality is a successful adjustment and combination; it may have its center of attention on the world outside, be *extraverted*, seeking activity constantly, or it may turn its gaze inward, and dream and plan rather than act, the so-called *intraverted* type; it may have various levels of energy, now distrusting itself and drooping, again forging ahead with confidence; it may exhibit symptoms of maladjustment, inadequacy to a given situation, fear, anxiety or anger, the futureward gaze which is perpetually regarding to-day as preparation, inability to concentrate, a dash of irritability, depression, discouragement, an uneven fluctuation of interest and enthusiasm, a touch of grandeur, or obstinacy, or even some anti-social personal traits such as excessive prudence or diplomacy (traits likely to

¹ Watson: "Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist," p. 397.

be successful in business,) or resentment in face of too constant group-life, or the impulse to smash down rather than build up, or the wish to commit violence to defend one's solitude . . . in short all these traits of personality which may in accentuation mark the abnormal, are frequently possessed by the fortunate personality. The difference is the balance of forces. G. Stanley Hall used to remark: "We are only sane with a *working majority* of our faculties."

Rosanoff¹ has found that desirable personalities show a fortunate combination of traits. He points out that in the normal personality we find the power of inhibition, a rational balance (which perhaps is best displayed in the following of a guiding-line, or conduct principle throughout life,) emotional control, or stability, which consists in the ability to maintain uniformity and continuity of feeling, and finally the normal personality is distinguished by superior durability.

In social work for those who present personal disabilities, the successful individual must possess these essential attributes of the normal personality which, as we shall see, are particularly called forth in the struggle against delinquency. In the treatment of mental illness:

"The patient must have full confidence in the physician and in his methods. . . . It follows that the physician must be able to inspire respect and trust . . . 'he must have a kind disposition, great patience, self-possession, particular freedom from prejudice, an understanding of human nature resulting from an abundant knowledge of the world,

¹ Rosanoff, A. J.: "A Theory of Personality," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 17, 1920, pp. 201-299.

adroitness in conversation, and a special love of his calling.'"¹

If this is the desirable relation of psychiatrist to patient, it should be equally true of client and social worker.

"The normal personality has the power of inhibition." It was recently remarked by one of the judges in a Morals Court that he had small use for the "lady social worker"; his chief worker with the girls of his court was connected with a cabaret, she was a "rough-neck, because it takes a rough-neck to handle delinquents." The judge's statement is an extreme example of a widespread opinion that a "rough and ready," uninhibited person is enabled to understand the wildness of youth. The contrary is true. The adjusted personality, with the life of impulse, and life of reason in adequate balance has attained a position from which flows tolerance and understanding. The selfishness of the personality with inferior inhibition makes it difficult for him to appreciate struggles of others. Inhibition gives a tremendous driving force to personality and is perhaps the secret source of that superior durability which is the distinguishing characteristic of the normal person.

It used to be thought popularly that inhibition wore out the structure. Disuse may cause wearing down of some vital part of one's being, but inhibition, that voluntary response to stimulus which turns energy into a new channel, or holds it delicately poised in rest, is no mere negation. Sherrington has shown that for nervous tissue, inhibition, so far from decreasing its power of action, increases energy and adds to power. Inhibition may thus make a

¹ Rosanoff's "Manual of Psychiatry," p. 113.

reservoir of something which, left to run idly of itself, would dribble away.

The social worker possessed of virile warmth and the usual number of human impulses controlled by inhibition, is the one best equipped to serve youth in conflict. Power to say no to one's selfish demands, power to refrain from actions which tend to injure others, power of guidance over fear, anxiety, anger, irritation, resentment, and love, is absolutely essential to a social worker with delinquents.

Respect for human life is grounded on inhibition; ability to place one's self imaginatively in place of another, sensitive awareness of some other personality which makes it impossible to use persons as things, or a person to one's personal advantage; these attributes of culture and adjustment depend fundamentally on power of inhibition. Hence the social worker, parent or teacher without requisite inhibition is powerless to deal with human beings constructively.

"The normal personality has rational control." Applied to social workers the life of reason is seen in following a guiding-line, or clear idea, as over against the welter of everyday experience. Chaos, dirty streets, unhappy children, indifferent parents, jeering adults, obstructionists and fanatics, all tend to produce innumerable ideas and activities pulling in different directions. Ability to maintain against the confusion of our modern world, a clear concept of our place in nature, and our goal as social workers is to attain rational balance.

The man of religion believes in holiness, the artist in beauty, the psychiatrist in normal adjustment, the social worker in adequate social relationships; each has a definitive ideal interest to uphold in midst of

the clamorous voices of our time, and in so doing he arrives at a guiding-line which is sufficient.

Moderation, willingness to let time bring its own inevitable contributions to human progress, is not seen to-day as it would be if our goal-idea was clear. Hence we leap to excesses. Social workers become fretful and nervous. "Fanaticism consists in redoubling your efforts when you have forgotten your aim," remarked an American philosopher.¹ Social workers, in particular, must guard against fanaticism, since it implies not only losing aim, but rational control as well.

To one who wishes to influence delinquents, rational approach, weighing life in proportion, is the surest guarantee of success; for the delinquent is beset with conflicting ideas; his greatest need is assurance that there exist in the world clear goals that are lighted with serenity.

The normal personality possesses emotional control, "the power to maintain uniformity and continuity of feeling." The especial malady of social workers who deal with disordered human beings is a mood that fluctuates between enthusiasm and despair. They exhibit it in their own lives and in relations to their clients. They start projects and lapse into discouragement or skepticism. In trying to do so much they miss the opportunity that lies nearest. They forget the immediacy of human distress, details that make for successful fathering and mothering, and come finally to deny possibility of human progress. In this they render a great disservice to social work. "The case worker who depresses himself and others by an attitude of

¹ George Santayana: "Introduction to Reason in Common Sense," 1906, p. 13.

skepticism towards progress forgets that he is not alone in facing difficulties.”¹ The worker with delinquents who laments the slow growth-process, or who is impatient with erring human nature, creates an atmosphere of despondency against which all but the most courageous lose hope.

Only steady, warm, continuous interest in human beings, ability to bring to each day's work fresh insight into manifold capacities of human nature to recuperate, can successfully combat unrest and delinquency. Perhaps that is the secret of influence of some fortunate personalities; they produce tranquillity because their emotional energy is flowing in a steady current that is not subject to sudden droughts or torrents. They are adjusted to life; they possess what Adolf Meyer calls “constructive composure.”

Who can estimate the number of delinquents who have gone under simply because of lack of faith in them by social workers whose emotional control was not uniform? Scores of promising young people have been destroyed in the “making-good” process at some critical moment when everything was dependent upon attitude, and the social worker's chance word of contempt, sarcasm or indifference swung the balance toward defeat. Let no one imagine this mere sentimental exaggeration. It is noted by Kempf² that a patient in St. Elizabeth's Hospital who suffered from feelings of guilt and inferiority, conditioned by harsh treatment in childhood from her father, was on road to recovery when she was unwisely treated by an attendant. She escaped from the hospital and was found wandering about; the process of cure was interrupted.

¹ Mary Richmond, “Social Diagnosis,” p. 361.

² “Psychopathology,” pp. 83-86.

Being treated meanly by a superior officer is undoubtedly the contributing factor in many failures of probation and correctional school. The occasion by itself appears so slight to adults concerned, that no importance is attributed to it. When the child is viewed against his complex background it becomes evident that each detail of treatment must be in harmony with some central plan, some point of view which recognizes delinquency as a symptom of a profound disorder. Balance of forces in the developing personality may be disturbed by sarcasm, discouragement or tyranny of the social worker, not because what the adult does is in itself important, but because it may touch off an ancient source of pain or anxiety in the child and set all his being flowing in a channel that is antagonistic.

The social worker's own emotional balance must be so steady that irritation, disappointment, petty set-backs from superiors, or co-workers have no power to alter the feeling-tone and need no outlet in displays of resentment, or distrust of the client. That the social worker with delinquents, should be himself contented and secure in his personal and professional life needs no demonstration. Anything which unduly hampers him in the community, such as an impossible political situation, will make for insecurity, but the only force which can permanently destroy his work will be inner disharmony which expresses itself in lack of faith.

The mainspring of the social worker's influence over individual delinquents is an absorbing interest in human experience. To the virile personality everything is an adventure, a test of strength; to the defeated, everything is dull. Children respond almost immediately to one who is filled with vital

interests, that is to say, one whose emotional attitude toward life is sound. Affection flows toward the adult who can unlock the doors which hold the child a prisoner within himself. For example, no demonstration of affection on the part of Miss Sullivan, teacher of Helen Keller, had power to win the child, or to awaken interest until the child discovered that through her teacher she was in possession of new power to explore the world.¹ If the social worker is mature emotionally, it will be expressed in ability to nourish, rather than to absorb, life in others.

Infantile personalities, as displayed in rapid alternations of mood, jealousy of attainments of others, too great dependence on praise and approval, self-seeking in various forms, inability to do team-work, or to feel loyalty, are sometimes unfortunately associated with high intellectual attainments. Mental maturity is commonly reckoned on a scale which ignores emotional and social maturity. Unless the social worker with delinquents has attained mature growth in social relationships, that is to say unless he has progressed in his emotional development to the point of being a good father, mother or their social equivalent; unless he is a team-worker, neighbor and loyal friend, he, or she, cannot hope to be successful. It is natural for the child to follow one whose personality has grown beyond and to resist one who is arrested at some childish level similar to his own.

"The normal personality possesses superior durability." ■ For social workers this is an important point. Romain Rolland has remarked: "The greatest

¹ Helen Keller: "Story of My Life."

■ Rosanoff: "Theory of Personality."

problem of any age is how to save the saviors." True saviors have astonishing vitality. They use up little energy in self-pity. They take the long view of humanity, and being assured of its essential health do not hurry or become fretful. They are enabled to bear a great deal because they are conscious of family membership with the entire human race; they view the world as a large household in which they are willing to bear their share of responsibility, and which, on the whole, goes about as well as the average household. . . . They do not make impossible demands of life, nor expect impossible rewards for their exceptional selves. If they have elected to do some specific service which makes them disagreeable to their fellows, such as being a prophet, or an innovator, they accept consequences without complaint.

The true social worker must accept the creed of the artist as expressed by Rodin:

"The artist must be a man of science, of patience. He should never be balked by any hazard. He must do everything with all his might.

"He must know how to endure popular ignorance and the envy of others. For fifty years I have known all the pangs of poverty; I have always been by force a toiler, but the joys of labor enabled me to support everything. It is to me odious not to produce. Rest is a bore to me. The man who seeks to please that million-headed monster called the public forfeits his personality and his independence. I know well enough what it is to struggle, for the man who seeks to originate is always in opposition to the spirit of his age."

To become "broken," or "bruised and crushed," by failure to be properly appreciated, or recognized

by the community, is to display something less than the normal personality. The young social worker should understand that he is a pioneer in the newest of professions; for many years his own discoveries and adventures must be his chief reward. To the seasoned social worker durability is a matter of course. Those splendid veterans of social service, whose names on the lips are like songs of victory, have weathered all storms and faced all black years with serenity. The superior durability of social workers should be their chief asset. Certainly the community, which fed, reared and trained them to understand human behavior and to cement social relationships, is not going to waste time coddling them, if through weakness of personality they become psychopathic, or filled with mutual suspicion and self-pity.

How shall one know a well adjusted personality? By seeing it in operation in midst of other human beings. It is the result which counts. Ability to deal comprehendingly and gently with conduct, ability to set free the speech and emotion of children and those who are repressed, is one mark of a constructive personality.

Humor is indispensable. A sense of humor indicates that a proper balance of personality traits has been reached; it shows that energy flows free through all channels and is not stopped somewhere by a sinister blockade. Humor should not be confused with wit, or jesting, or making "bright remarks" at the expense of weaker human beings. Taunts, gibes, sarcasm, ridicule of clients are all too frequent in work with delinquents. They indicate expression of *will to dominate*, the scoring of victory by superior intelligence, or strength. Such

wit is sometimes hard to distinguish from cruelty.

At a meeting of prison wardens they were discussing the mysterious improvidence of certain prisoners, who have no sense of their own welfare.

"Jim was a two-term loser. He had served ten years of his second sentence and was about to be paroled for good conduct. The night before his release he became very excited, and at midnight he executed a daring escape.

"Well, that is easy. Jim knew all right he was wanted somewhere else for something on the outside."

At this commentary on modern prison life there was loud laughter, and the man who made it passed for a bright fellow.

For delinquents it is especially true that:

"There is nothing. . . .

Like the clashed edges of two words that kill."¹

The normal personality should be incapable of wounding a helpless human being by display of wit. True humor is founded on genuine liking of human nature and interest in its manifold possibilities. It marks the sense of proportion.

"When a man has only one idea that idea is as serious as can be; when he laughs he is virtually saying that he has had another idea."²

An apprehensive social worker has apprehensive and fearful clients. The gloomy, humorless worker with delinquents retards their moral progress.

Whenever one finds a good institution, a capable

¹ Wallace Stevens: "Harmonium," p. 28, Alfred A. Knopf, 1923.

² Weeks: "The Control of the Social Mind," p. 177. Quoted in *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. VIII, p. 232.

social organization, a probation office with many successful cases, there has been at work a normally adjusted personality, or as Emerson said: "The lengthened shadow of a great man." It is time that we recognized that a fortunate combination of personality traits, turned to interests of social adjustment does indeed constitute greatness. Many individuals have entered the field of social work, given the best that was in them only to face some inner collapse, or insupportable political obstacle, or to be defeated with their own indifference. Stretches of achievement we should honor wherever they occur. Each level of progress has been built up of human energy, and represents a successful period in the life-force of some human being. If later the worker fails or if his work appears to him worthless, we should still recognize the service he has rendered. It is no disgrace to a profession that there are many casualties.

To those social workers who become tortured at thought that what they have built will not endure, let us remind them that there is a natural tendency for living things to die, that death is a process as normal as growth. If their work was static and inanimate it would exist always, but since it is a living reality, it must be subject to forces that gradually wear it down and change it into something else. New projects of social work are especially the object of attack; like all young alive things they require an enormous amount of nourishment. Not to be prepared for this state of affairs is to enter the field of social work in unforgivable innocence.

The successful social worker with delinquents is a hardy personality who is discouraged with nothing except static perfection.

CHAPTER XII

A COMMUNITY PROGRAM

THE utopia of H. G. Wells¹ differs from other portraits of future human blessedness: it is a social production. Mr. Wells takes a friend with him, a botanist; Utopia is the result of dreams of the author as modified by comments of the botanist. Mr. Wells feels the critic a nuisance, but since the botanist is a teetotaler the community program of the model state must not include port wine with the walnuts.

In sketching a community program for adjustment of delinquency, let us assume an average community, average critics, with only average amount of good-will and social resources. What can we reasonably expect for the delinquent child within the next decade?

For treatment we are in position to demand minimum essentials:

1. The business of detecting delinquency must still fall largely to the police, as guardians of public safety. Police, therefore, must be specially educated with reference to juvenile delinquency.² They should be taught that Juvenile Court is parental; they, as policemen, are representatives of that power. When it is needful to take in custody a child, each detail of arrest, handling, language, temporary place

¹ "A Modern Utopia," H. G. Wells.

² Chief of Police August Vollmer of Los Angeles, formerly of Berkeley, California, has instituted a strong educational program for police officers.

of detention, manner of questioning, means of restraint, should be managed with one central thought: the welfare of the child. He should be kept as far as possible from criminals and all that savors of the attitude of criminality. He should either be taken at once to his own home or placed with officers of Juvenile Court. He should never be taken to police station, or lock-up. If in emergency it is necessary for public safety to place a juvenile delinquent in police station or jail, the matter should immediately be referred to the judge of the Juvenile Court.

In some communities the police are more socialized than the Juvenile Court; in others the Juvenile Court has delegated its authority to Boards of Children's Guardians, juvenile protective agencies and the like. The point which should be clear is that whereas the police must largely be held responsible for initial discovery of any specific delinquent act, treatment accorded must differ entirely from that commonly given adult offenders. Protection and welfare of the child should be the paramount issue.

2. In every city there should be specially trained policewomen who, in addition to knowledge as police officers, should possess education and experience of the social worker.¹ The policewomen should handle all cases of delinquent girls. That it is still possible in many cities for a girl of fifteen guilty of a sex offense to be taken in custody, questioned, escorted by a man officer, reflects on the intelligence and discretion of any community. Men officers should not be required to care for delinquent girls. California has a law specifically providing against

¹ Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle, Chief of the Women's Bureau of Police of Washington, D. C., is the leading expert in this field.

transportation of girls by other than women.¹ It does not cure the damage to send for a woman in police station after the girl has been in the custody of men for hours, and the initial searching, preliminary verbal examination has been undergone. A sufficient number of *well-qualified* policewomen, day and night, should be on duty throughout city streets, playgrounds, amusements, terminals, "questionable quarters," and the like, to make it unnecessary to place the girl delinquent at any time in hands of men. It is not necessary to explain that this principle is no reflection on ethical standards of men officers; that girls and women should be dealt with by women is clear to all not prejudiced by tradition, or blinded by questions of taxes and city politics. The psychological effect is quite different on the girl herself.

3. Hearing of cases, detention of juvenile delinquents, administration of the probation system should be controlled by one authority, the judge of the Juvenile Court. If responsibility is divided, if there is separation of judge and probation department, if police bureaus "informally hear and decide cases," or if some system of "voluntary probation" is established, no efficient method for control of juvenile delinquency is developed. The child and parent can make no distinction between what is formal and legal, and what is informal and extra-legal. Waste of time and energy, loss of community understanding, confusion on part of police, probation officers and public, bewilderment of the child, weakening of authority of law, lack of systematic procedure, break-down of parental function of the Juvenile

¹ This provision is found in a few other states, but frequently violated.

Court, result in all places where a joint system of control has been attempted. As some one has said of communities who struggle against delinquency with top-heavy machinery, duplicate agencies, of police and court, survivals of old political combats, atavistic, rudimentary organs of antiquated charitable societies, each trying to "treat" the delinquent in his special way: "They have an unutterable past and no policy for the future."

There must be one agency invested with exclusive jurisdiction over juvenile delinquency, with power to make all necessary provision; this agency should be the Juvenile Court; the community should hold it responsible for proper administration of its parental duties. The court may call on other agencies for assistance in solving problems, but it is essential that there should be one responsible head. Much confusion, waste of effort, and neglect would be avoided if it were not possible to pass responsibility for delinquent children from hand to hand.

4. The judge of Juvenile Court should be specially fitted for his task, elected or appointed for a long term of years, receive honor and support due him in the community as the one who represents *parenthood of the state*.

5. The judge should have power, at discretion, to appoint a woman referee with the usual power of masters in chancery, to hear cases of girls and young children. The referee should be a social worker with requisite training.

6. Adequate Juvenile Court legislation should exist.¹

7. A Juvenile Court Committee should be selected

¹ The National Probation Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City, has published ■ model juvenile court law.

to assist the judge. These men and women should serve without pay, represent no partisan politics or self-seeking interests in the community. They need not be experts in matters of probation and procedure. They must be energetic citizens of good-will, with clear ideas on the subject of juvenile delinquency.¹ in this capacity they interpret the Juvenile Court to the community, and needs of the community to the judge of Juvenile Court. In times of trouble, or when judges are suddenly changed, the committee is a safeguard against political interference or breakdown of child welfare principles in the court. Many a gallant, socially-minded worker with delinquents has been swept unsung to his doom during the recurrent upheavals of American state and county politics.

8. The probation staff should be well trained social workers of good personality. The minimum requirements of the Juvenile Court Committee on Standards should be followed. The fact that entirely disqualified persons serve as probation officers is the chief cause when probation fails to reduce delinquency. Probation is doomed if served by ill-trained, half-educated, incapable officers, or if it overloads with too many cases, its good, well-trained officers, or if the probation office is administered politically. The personnel of the probation office is the most important single consideration in a community program for treatment of juvenile delinquency.

9. The court should have an adequate system of

¹ Slogan of National League of Women Voters: "The greatest social forces of to-day are clear ideas in minds of energetic men and women of good will."

For description of the function and mode of selection of the Juvenile Court or Probation Committee see Juvenile Court Law of California, Section 17.

detention for juvenile delinquents. Good procedure requires that the child be kept in his own home whenever possible; it is "possible" more often than we imagine. The next best substitute is a series of private boarding homes, or "shelters" to which the probation officer escorts the child. Trouble with this method, as it works practically, is that the child is taken to police station and jail very frequently. It is not difficult to point out grave abuses in connection with any system of detention that uses the jail as lodging for young persons. It is thoroughly pernicious, no matter how it is used or justified. Older communities sometimes pride themselves on having no juvenile detention home; their arrangement is good only when compared with communities that have built congregate children's jails, and called them detention homes.¹ The detention home should be for short periods only, the child should live as normally as possible in work, school and play.² A strong medical program should be established for correction of physical defects, and treatment of venereal disease. It is well to have the juvenile court committee given supervisory power over management of the detention home.

10. The court should have access to expert medical, psychological and psychiatric service for diagnosis and treatment. In large cities there is no difficulty in securing this. In rural districts and small towns, state boards of charities and corrections can

¹ The Boston plan *versus* Chicago suggest themselves as examples.

² See Judge Hulburt of Detroit: "The Detention Home," Proceedings of National Probation Association, Toronto, 1924. Also Margaret Bullen, "Detention Home Administration in Los Angeles," California Conference of Social Work, Long Beach, May, 1924.

be of assistance in supplying expert service, or the State University may work out a program of traveling clinics.

11. Probation officers in coöperation with the clinic, should develop a definite program, or plan of life, for the child which secures proper social relationship with home, school, church, neighborhood, playground, industrial and social service groups. There should be a fixed policy of supervision of work of the individual officer, and frequent conferences with all those who come in contact with the child. Results of probationary treatment should be checked up every six months, or more frequently, and methods revised as conditions change. If treatment is not working, some carefully deliberated new plan should be made. It should be remembered that intelligent probation service is restricted to a small proportion of juvenile courts. It has not been applied to the majority.

12. In addition to homes of the children, there should be developed the following for use by the probation officer:

(a) A special indexed bureau of foster homes, chosen and supervised in light of modern child-placing principles. There should be legislation providing for payment of money for board of children. Details of administration will vary with community tradition.

(b) For boys and girls who do not thrive in home life, and who do well in industry, boarding homes and small clubs for those who receive apprentice and minimum wage.

(c) Special small boarding schools and homes for boys and girls of like religious faith.

(d) Some form of allotment to mothers such as

state or county aid should exist so children under juvenile court supervision can be left at home when it is for their welfare.

13. The Community should provide adequate institutional facilities for special types of children. All institutions to which wards of the Juvenile Court are sent should be conceived and administered as *educational* institutions. The state usually provides training schools for boys and girls who require correctional education. The state should establish a school for training, custody and colonization of feeble-minded and epileptic children. For supervision of feeble-minded in their homes, or in properly chosen foster homes, Louise Drury, Superintendent of the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee, has worked out an excellent method. See also work of Dr. Charles Bernstein, Rome, New York, as set forth in *Mental Hygiene*, 1920, Vol. IV., pp. 1 to 28. The local community should furnish an opportunity- or adjustment-school for wards of court in need of observation, or short periods of training, or whose homes are temporarily unfit. Many psychopathic children will be benefited by short periods in such a school, particularly if the atmosphere is tranquilizing, and the program of activities varied and vigorous. In a surprising number of cases, children previously held to be incorrigible, or on verge of insanity or delinquency, will be restored. For examples in two widely different social areas see the Orchard School for Girls of the Bethesda Society of Massachusetts and the El Retiro School for Girls of Los Angeles County. In some communities provision has been made for boys in the George Junior Republics, or similar organizations.

There are other special groups of handicapped

young people who require brief institutional treatment, as for example, the unmarried mother, and the venereally infected. Small home-like structures, or a rented private house are suitable. Success depends on the enlightenment and skill of personnel, and an adequate medical program. Cost is not great if regimen is simple.

14. Workers with juvenile delinquents must establish a widespread educational movement to correct that "insidious censorship" of the community which is so prone to nullify the adjustment the child is trying to make. Talks, meetings, attendance on the part of citizens to court hearings, visits to institutions, conferences with clubs, universities, religious organizations, and press will create a wholesome atmosphere in which the child on probation will be neither frozen nor stifled. The work should be gladly undertaken by social workers to show the faith that is in them. It is the surest way to combat baleful influence of petty politics. All civic organizations, colleges, law and medical schools, etc., should be systematically instructed at regular intervals with reference to the local problem of delinquency.

15. Literature on the subject of behavior difficulties and their adjustment, books, pamphlets, periodicals, comparative legislation, annual reports, publications of conferences, special societies and the like should be gathered for distribution by local libraries. Juvenile Court workers should be familiar with this, and see that the proper information is broadcast. It does no good, of course, to have books merely remain on shelves.

16. An adequate program of law-enforcement for protection of children should be built up, in which

Juvenile Court, police and district attorney are in close coöperation.

17. For adequate supervision of local administration for handling delinquency, state boards of probation, charities and corrections, state welfare commissions and the like are found helpful.

18. The problem of caring for children on parole from state training schools is scarcely ever met fully by parole officers under control of the institution. The system of a separate, though closely coördinated, department of parole has been worked out by Edith Burleigh.¹ Her view of parole as a special type of social service she here sets forth:

"Those who have the new vision of parole see a field limited only by the needs of the individual girl, in which opportunity is to be offered her to work out her own salvation in terms of self-development and service.

". . . The girl's own limitations or slowness of growth must not be allowed to dishearten the worker or to make her lose faith in the infinite possibilities latent in the human soul."

The elements suggested above as essential in adequate community treatment of delinquency might be extended, or machinery may be simpler in certain parts of our country. The important things are: that authority should be centralized in the court, that treatment should be *parental*, that the entire community should unite in coöperation, and that child delinquency should be *dealt* with, not passed

¹ "The Delinquent Girl: A Study of the Girl on Parole in Massachusetts," by Edith M. Burleigh and Frances R. Harris. Published by New York School of Social Work, 105 East 22nd Street, New York, 1924. Price, sixty cents.

from hand to hand in futile, emergency plans of treatment.

The most important work of the community with reference to juvenile delinquency should be to prevent it.

For the elements of a specific community program for prevention the following may be suggested:

1. A school department bureau or conference for treatment of truancy, misconduct and behavior maladjustments developing in school life. This bureau should be in charge of a social worker who has had training and experience in treating juvenile delinquency in light of modern methods. Truancy officers and compulsory education workers administration of special schools should be controlled through this source, which should have access to expert medical, psychological and psychiatric services. The school should assume responsibility for a large part of social conduct of its pupils, as for example, vice-principals of girls in high schools of Rochester, New York, recently undertook to chaperon school girls who had been permitted by parents to attend public dance halls. If the school wishes to handle even a small part of the delinquency that occurs among school children, it must develop a special, highly socialized organism to administer diagnosis and treatment. The visiting teacher, the plastic curriculum, use of the project method, proper placement of children in school work, a growing respect for the child's personality, vocational guidance, are all needed factors in the social program of school.

2. Development in school of a sex hygiene program is an educational problem that can no longer be denied. The modern child is in a blind fog of

misinformation and superstition. He is ignorant of fit names for the parts of the body, and process of reproduction. He has no way of asking for clean information because he is not in possession of tools, the right words to ask. Latin words used by physicians have no power to serve as substitute for simple mother-tongue expressions which would serve to release pressures and express natural curiosities. The old Anglo-Saxon sex words are encrusted with filth; they are encountered now chiefly between pages of old books and on the lips of young children. The modern child does not hear sex stories of the Bible. He must gain everything illicitly. He is without vocabulary, or clean knowledge. Certain facts may be taught him at home, but the task of acquiring a rational attitude toward sex must largely be fulfilled by the school. Much waste of energy could thus be avoided. As to what such a social hygiene program should include there is difference of opinion.¹

The concept of family formation should be acquired in school. Sex instruction in the past has been based largely on the requirements of individual virility, virtue and happiness. The youth is not taught the principles of forming a family; how much it costs, first and last, what are its social advantages and disadvantages, what is expected of a family in modern civilization, what are qualities of a good father, mother, brother, sister, or the indispensable attributes of a bachelor uncle; all these family matters could be profitably discussed in the Junior and High Schools, or wherever adolescents congregate. They are far more likely to be interested now than at some later time. Family problems in the same

¹ See publications of the American Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York.

manner as civics or ethics, or culture-history could be attached to each department of the curriculum. This safety-valve of vigorous, critical discussion would ease some of the tension and irritation of the average boy and girl toward his or her own family.

3. A direct attack upon the problem of training boys and girls of school age to understand infancy and childhood has been made by the Merrill-Palmer experiment in Detroit, under the leadership of Helen Thompson Wooley. Observing that behavior-patterns of the child are pretty well set by the time of school entrance, Dr. Wooley has organized a nursery school where actual training in handling problems of tiny children is given young students. Youth is the golden period for education in parenthood; afterwards it is too late, and before egotisms of childhood prevent. A plan whereby young boys and girls can see something beyond themselves, can be lifted to an objective level in study of human emotions is one of the surest and best ways, not only to prevent delinquency in the present generation, but to remove the soil of parental misunderstanding in which it flourishes.

Formerly training schools for motherhood in Germany, England and elsewhere have stressed the physical care of childhood and they have been in hands of physicians and educators. A better approach to natural interests of adolescents is the psychological. Understanding the behavior and emotional development of young children has its special fascination. Dr. Wooley's experiment should be extended to other communities as rapidly as trained leadership can be secured.

4. As part of the public school system (high schools, night classes and state universities) there

should be well rounded provision for training social workers. This should be a recognized vocation for which preparation may begin early in school life. Technical and professional schools for social workers would not be supplanted by these public school courses. The chief benefit derived would be an enlightened community understanding of problems of social work, which in turn would gain enormously from democratic infiltration.

5. The larger program for community education for problems of delinquency and social work would still have to be left to special groups. While all that increases knowledge of human nature and respect for personality will tend to prevent delinquency, there are specific areas of misinformation that will have to be combated. Delinquency as a community product and a community responsibility must be faced squarely. Just as we are no longer indifferent if the child next door to our own has diphtheria, so we must understand that to save any special class of children from delinquency, all must be saved.

The civic organization which addressed to the mother of a small boy, who had been injured by an assault by a boy about his own age, the following letter :

"MY DEAR MRS. PETERS :

"The members of this Community Welfare League were greatly shocked to hear of the distressing misfortune suffered by your son Jonathan recently, and our hearts go out to you in deepest sympathy.

"This League stands for the protection and welfare of our children and we therefore wish to offer to you any assistance or support which it is within our power

to give in any steps which you may decide to take in connection with the matter.

"Assuring you again of our deep interest in your trouble, we are

"Very truly yours,

"COMMUNITY WELFARE LEAGUE."

did not comprehend that another mother and child were involved, and to lift the burden of delinquency from that neighborhood it would be necessary to consider the delinquent's welfare as well as that of the injured child. The community must be taught to consider the problem whole and not to be led astray by spectacular cases, or desire for vengeance.

Community control of public opinion through press, clubs, social agencies and business organizations should seek to restrain profiteers in the faults of youth. Money making, or gaining personal advantage by delinquency of juveniles should be under ban of public disapproval. Only in this way can seemingly respectable snares or lures for pleasure-loving young people be wiped out.

Community education of well meaning adults who lack "common-sense" is necessary. Those who "pick up" boys and girls at night, house them, give rides and shelter, money and meals, directly encourage delinquency. Their activity is usually sentimental; they feel a glow of pride that they have "done a kid a good turn"; they listen uncritically to stories of abuse and misunderstanding, are too ready to believe ill of parents, schools, public officials; after lavishing "sympathy" on the young adventurer, they turn him out of doors, or condemn him as a "fraud" in court. It is not kindness, but vanity or ignorance that prompts them to assist girls and

boys to run away, to give them automobile rides that land them miles away from home and induce stealing to get back. Adults should be instructed not to gratify their impulses to play fairy godmother to unknown children for it is a selfish pastime at best, and frequently it contributes to misery and delinquency of the child. Quite otherwise is that searching spirit of responsibility which would accompany a child to his home, learn the facts, apply skill and knowledge in solving the difficulty, if it exists.

Adults who permit their houses or rooms to be used by unchaperoned boys and girls for rendezvous, or lend their automobiles promiscuously, or who are careless with valuable personal property are undoubtedly not safeguarding the badly taught youth of today. Too great a strain should not be placed by the neighborhood on discretion of children whose parental control has already been weakened.

6. The church as a guiding force in the life of youth should be the chief asset in a community program to prevent delinquency. In many places it will form and direct a large part of the social life of the individual. It can no longer remain aloof from social or political problems, but must assume active leadership. Technical matters of social service can well be left to trained groups, but the fundamental art of producing a *social attitude* of mind, a religious feeling-tone toward life and its problems, can be created only through the church. If the church could forget its dissensions and concentrate on the spiritual welfare of the child, much that now passes for social work would be unnecessary. For the church to imitate economic or military groups in rivalry for membership, or to seek

competition with amusements that enervate youth, is no substitute for its true function of supplying ethical and religious guidance to youth.

7. The community which is kindest to children goes on about its own affairs with vigor. A multitude of agencies for child welfare, playgrounds, day nurseries, protective societies, and censorships does not of itself indicate a happier or healthier childhood. Children thrive most where they are part of a busy community, interested in worth while activities. They need to be let alone; they love to observe and to imitate skilled adults at their tasks. A neighborhood that loves children does not herd them all together on some public lot, but absorbs them into its life-stream. A sunny-dispositioned handy man, who permits children to gather near him to glimpse the fascination of his knack, or a conscientious, widely traveled tramp,¹ may be more genuinely instructive to a child than any social worker in the community.

The neighborhood which suffers its little children to approach its great men, its quaint personalities, the neighborhood which has *time for children*, is provided with the best stronghold to prevent delinquency. In communities where age-groups are not too widely separated in interests, as for example in primitive society or in days of pioneering, or when a great task takes hold of an entire community, there are outlets for youth's energy, and delinquency is infrequent. The farm-life of early New England, the "conquest of the West" furnished children vigorous participation in community affairs which they require. Whether Boy Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls can succeed in creating artificial substitutes remains to be seen. Before adults can hope to reap a harvest

¹ James Norman Hall: *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1923.

of good children from such enterprises, they must devise natural ways of using their energy; the essential thing is recognition of mutual dependence of child and adult, the necessity for *living together*. If old men group themselves exclusively together we have what Kempf attributes to arteriosclerosis, war, secret diplomacy, economic tyranny;¹ if children congregate we have delinquency. No age-group can isolate itself without affectation or fanaticism. Feminists, youth-movements, mature male organizations have repeatedly been tried by primitive peoples and others. They leave the child out. They are useful for certain ends, but they tend to sterility. They are biologically unsound. The social worker ought to see the problem very clearly; of far more importance than social agencies and organizations to care for special handicapped groups in the community is the fostering of a healthy community spirit in which fathers, mothers and children share in work, recreation and neighborhood projects. The modern phenomenon of groups of women playing bridge and mah jongg while groups of boys and girls have "petting parties," or expeditions to steal automobiles, and groups of men are organizing a new club, secret society, or community drive, is definitely related to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

When it is time for the community to organize special protective societies for children, the disease is already present, and the social worker's task is to guide these enterprises into constructive channels.

8. In every community there should be some specific organization or committee to insure a clean press. A civic body composed of business men and

¹ Kempf: "Psychopathology."

women, the larger advertisers, newspaper publishers, a few socially minded parents, and social workers might meet together to form a program. The goal should be formation of public opinion and newspaper policy that would keep the press free of lurid stories of crime, sex-delinquencies, divorce and personal scandal. There should be no attempt at *censorship*. Papers would print these same items of fact as news, but deliberate appeal to lust, blood, robbery and other anti-social impulses would not be so constantly stressed. Personal stories of delinquent boys and girls many papers now refuse to print, in communities where the Juvenile Court and other social agencies have been doing good work. To lessen the flow of filth in the average daily paper will require something more than coöperation, since the basic principle of these publications is apparently that nothing is *news* which does not alarm, terrify, or unduly stimulate the reader.

Compulsion is useless; legislation still more so. Only the American business man and woman who pay the bill for cost of the paper, through advertising, and who in increasing numbers are becoming critical of excess of crime and sex stories in their newspapers, can supply a remedy.¹ The "murder sheet" extra, or the late afternoon "thriller" is sold on the street by the chance appeal of the headline or clever phrase of the newsboy. The buyer pays, glances at the front page, and his curiosity satisfied throws the paper away. The advertising of such sheets is not read, yet it pays for the entire publication. The scandal sheet litters the streets and chokes

¹ The Los Angeles Committee on Journalism was formed as the result of resolutions from organizations throughout the United States, representing hundreds of thousands of members.

the ash can; it is quite literally that which it is symbolically,—garbage. Social workers can aid in formation of business-groups who in time will eliminate this waste of money, and corruption of public sentiment.

9. Business men and women should be led to form groups for the moral safe-guarding of youth in industry. Commercial exploitation of youth's search for pleasure and excitement, unscrupulous hotels, places of amusement and the like, the habit of "kidding" young people employed in public-service enterprises, lack of protecting the morals of adolescents as we now protect the safety of infants,—all this can be controlled best by leaders of industry in the community. Fraternal and economic organizations already show signs of an awakened interest in boys and girls. Social workers should seize this opportunity for constructive protective measures for childhood.¹

10. All clubs and social organizations should give a definite place in their programs to fostering social welfare. Upon them will fall, in communities where social work is pioneering, the opportunity to create public opinion, and to foster enterprises already begun. If a club undertakes to do a specific task of social service, it should employ a trained social worker as executive. Clubs do best when they devote energies to some one movement, such as Mental Hygiene, Travelers' Aid, or Americanization, or deal with one group of clients, such as the wayward girl, or boy, or provision of foster homes. Isolation of the one problem strengthens effort, and is the first step toward progress. The special danger to

¹ In this country men's organizations, like the Rotarians, are becoming awakened to needs of youth

be combated is treatment of the handicapped individual without reference to the family which produced him. If it be born in mind that social work deals with creation and fostering of social relationship, and that the actual conduct of treatment should be directed by a well-trained, recognized social worker, clubs can be a vast constructive force in our American communities.

11. In each community there should be a child-placing agency which controls the home finding and supervision of all young children who are in need of homes other than the parental one. Careless child-placing is responsible for misery and delinquency to such a widespread extent that no estimate is likely to tell the full tale. Child-placing is now, through guidance of the great leaders of children's societies in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York and elsewhere in possession of standards that make it one of the most delightful and creative of the social arts. No community which places its children casually, or adopts them indiscriminately can have a good conscience when its youth becomes delinquent.¹

12. The Mental Hygiene movement should be established in the community that seeks to prevent delinquency, or to deal with disordered behavior. (See Chapter XI.)

13. Protective groups should be organized to care for special types of handicapped persons; the Travelers' Aid Societies, Juvenile Protective Associations, are of the greatest importance in a community program and no constructive or preventive work, on

¹ See Bulletin: "Child Welfare League of America." Dr. Henry W. Thurston, president, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City, N. Y.

a comprehensive scale, can be undertaken without them.

14. No large community program can do effective work without a social service exchange, a non-political system of administering relief, and a loyal co-operative federation of social workers. The means of financing social work of the community must be worked out in each location. Of special value will be formation of qualified social workers into a professional group, such as the American Medical Association for physicians, or American Bar Association for lawyers.¹ Ethics of the profession of social work, matters of technique, training and vocational placement of social workers, can be entrusted to this group.

15. Each community should formulate some plan for professional training of social workers. Local persons could be sent to the great schools of Social Work in New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and elsewhere; if necessary, several social agencies could combine and send one member for the purpose of learning adequate record keeping, or investigations, or social treatment, or whatever was lacking in the social resources of the community. State universities and colleges are gradually establishing schools, or departments, of social work. No community can afford to blunder along with make-shift social workers, any more than they can employ street sweepers to build bridges on which their lives depend.

Training of social workers tends to develop stability of personnel. Changing personnel works hardship in treatment of juvenile delinquency

¹The American Association of Social Workers has local groups in most leading communities.

where so much depends on establishing permanent social relationships. Continuity of treatment is desirable. Change, flux, drift, broken faith, unkept promises, situations that are unstable are agony to children whose own homes are so changing. When social workers can send their own roots deep into the soil of their chosen community, much can be accomplished.

16. Any community which desires to prevent delinquency must provide recreation facilities for all the boys and girls. Camps, playgrounds, winter sports and club rooms, handcraft classes, drama leagues, fire-side industries, swimming pools, gymnasias, nature-clubs, all these and many more are needful in creating outlets for youths' leisure time. There should be no special trust in apparatus and organization; the main thing is *will to play* on part of the community as expressed in a few vigorous personalities gifted in getting along with children.

* * * * *

The newer communities have no cause for discouragement. Older communities have inherited much that is clumsy, unwieldy, laden with tradition and prejudice. Social machinery becomes obsolete almost as soon as it is erected because human nature is dynamic. New communities have the greater opportunity to avoid mistakes and to create living tissue. There will be no serious blunders committed if in a community program a few clear, simple things are held constantly in view. There should be honesty and simplicity of approach. If a community lacks a given social device, it should not be content with any group of persons who apply some new label to their activities and proclaim: "Lo, here

we have it!" Patient, enlightened construction is the only thing that counts. Then, the child, at home, at school, in industry, on the streets, in play, in court, police department, or social agency, should stand out as the central theme of interest and love; his being sacred to growth, his welfare the supreme goal of the community.

No community program can run of itself.

"For know, whatever was created needs to be sustained and fed," wrote Milton, and it might be added that even a tree planted must have a guardian, or some one will cut it down and sell the spot for real estate. Nothing can endure, no institution, society or organization, no monument, method, or landscape will survive in civilization unless the impulse that created it, loved it, builds up consciousness in other human beings that it must be cherished and developed, through days to come, against destructive forces of ignorance, malice, greed and indifference.

Social achievement, then, is not one act or a thousand; it is a continuous process. There should never come a time when a social worker points with pride and says: "See what I have built!" Even as he speaks walls are crumbling, and decay sets in. Self-complacency is not for social engineers, nor for artists who do social work. Nothing that matters will endure without constant human support. In social creations the only "safe" things are already . . . dead.

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF YOUTH IN CONFLICT

IN our treatment of problems of juvenile delinquency we have asked questions; we are not yet ready to propose widespread solutions. We have come to view delinquency as conduct that is not isolated and distinct from normal conduct, but as part of the stream of human behavior, a response to certain situations in modern life. Maladjustment of young people appears in varying guise; now as failure in school, or home, now as illness, "nervous prostration," sudden "breakdowns," suicide, mental and emotional disorders, again as acts of delinquency. The organism is seeking its goal. The method it selects to meet life may destroy it and injure society. In last analysis delinquency is a public health problem.

For thousands of years courts and officers of the law have struggled to oppose crime and delinquency by means of force. It is doubtful if they have lessened by one the number which enter prison walls. Some fresh method of approach must be reached, and it is a significant sign of our times that the most hopeful aspects of the treatment and prevention of anti-social conduct are found in the movement against juvenile delinquency.

As we survey the field at large, we see that constructive measures applied to the young have a marked effect in reducing those symptoms which, if

permitted to go unchecked into adult life, result in such serious conditions as crime and permanently psychopathic traits. It is true that we have underestimated the plasticity of youth. . . .

Casting about us for explanations of the many forms of treatment for the vast numbers of young people in conflict to-day with authority, with older social forms of the family, the school, the church and the community, we seem to see this as "the century of the child." Yet more properly it could be described as the century of the malady of childhood.

In truth the attitude of the adult modern world is inappropriate to the demands of youth. Youth, seeking always to win and to enjoy life, finds itself pitted against an order of things where the satisfactions of earning and spending money outrun the earlier and more fundamental goals of our race.

What is profitable living? For any dominant people it must always have its center of gravity in the child. Normal biological life demands that child-rearing be an entirely satisfactory occupation to the majority of adults. If they become discontented with children, or if they leave them out of account, children seek their own satisfactions blindly and without guidance.

The remedy can be sought in no mere palliations, but must be rooted in a fundamental adjustment in which vital impulses join with a rational guiding principle. That our older institutions of family and group control have partially broken down is a challenge to seek more deeply for fundamentals. Youth in its criticism, expressed by delinquency, is compelling a more searching attitude toward our ancient structures. Delinquent children compel the question: In what way can we consider ourselves more fit

than they? These young people rushing toward delinquency exhibit not only their own strength of purpose, but our weakness.

Our interest in them must not be sentimental. When Desdemona told Othello:

"I love thee for the distressful strokes thy youth hath suffered," she expressed the enthusiasm which human beings always feel for triumph of young energy over misery; but the mature adult who seeks to serve youth in conflict must be guided by something more than enthusiasm or pity.

We must in truth turn to science for our deliverance. Some minds, viewing the framework of classification, machinery which has been built up to diagnose and to record, the enormous amount of time given to words, to reports, technique and to conferences, doubt the power of science to solve the problem of human maladjustment. The trouble is that we have minor scientists as well as minor poets. The authentic voice in the science of human behavior has simply not arisen. . . .

Good-will will not solve the problem, nor is philosophy or art sufficiently devoted to weaker and handicapped forms of life to effect a solution. Science, with all its mistakes and false values, still remains the fittest instrument with which to delve into secrets of human behavior. It alone possesses requisite impersonality and far-sightedness: advance cannot be made by science, however, until the public mind is prepared to face the truth without fear. In the meantime there will be increasing conflict.

Youth has supreme energy for the struggle. With abundant vitality it experiments with new social forms which we have not the courage to assay. There is no reason to condone the faults of

youth. They are glaringly self-evident. What is not so apparent is the need for a fresh approach to age-old problems of human association. Certain things grow in spite of opposition of pain and weakness. The delinquent child is bearing the burden of experimentation; he has been forced into that position by adult selfishness. The broken home represents the struggle of adults to free themselves from intolerable situations. When adults are enabled to develop stability of interest, and adequate emotional control, we shall see the burden of delinquency lifted from the shoulders of the children.

When children become maladjusted, the public is satisfied by vigor and objectivity of social treatment. Those who know understand that only an inner change of motive and of goal is competent to produce lasting changes in human behavior.

When in adult society the emphasis is shifted from transitory economic goals and seeking for power to the primary biological goals of healthy childhood, juvenile delinquency will no longer be an insoluble problem. It will depend on the attitude of adults toward life,

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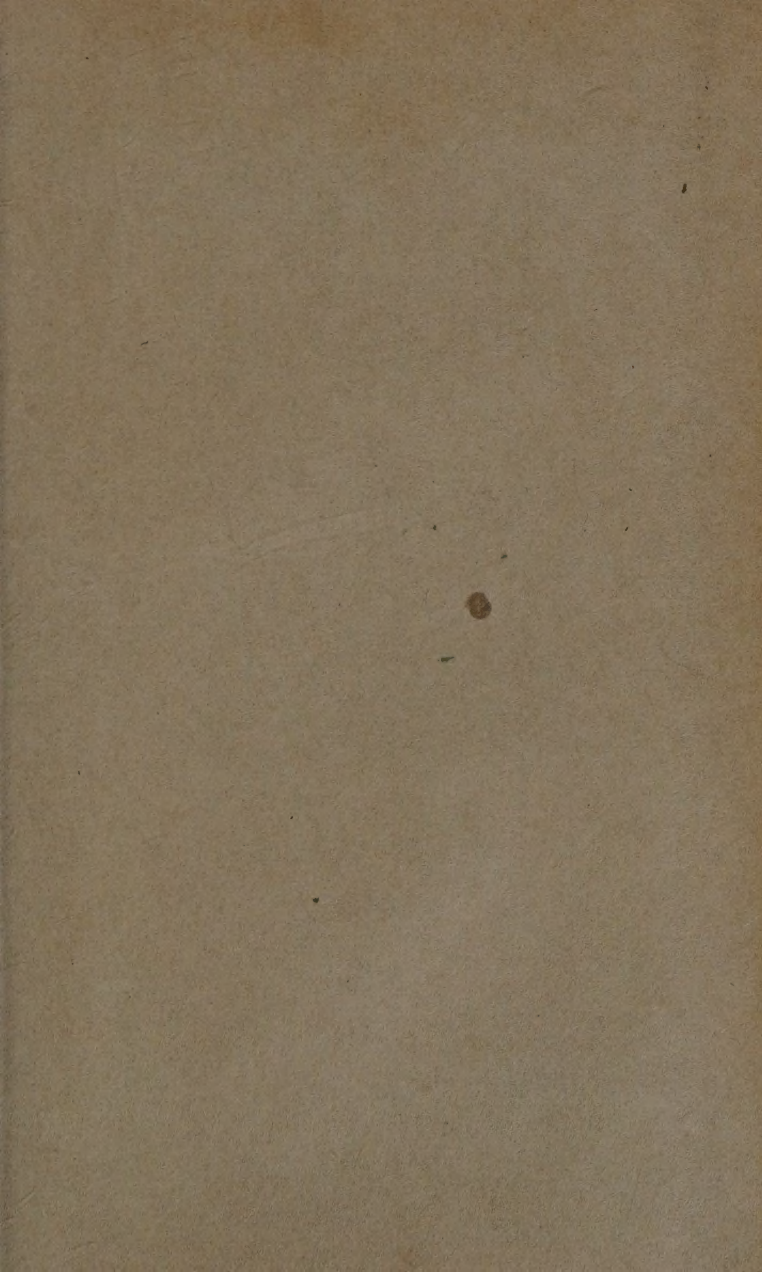
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